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BALTIMORE

MARCH · 1947



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MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XLII, No. 1

MARCH, 1947

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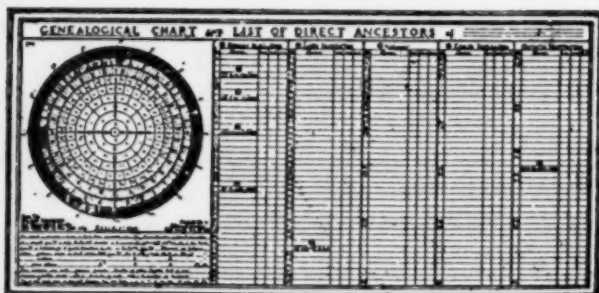
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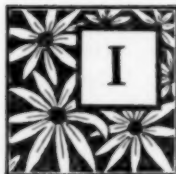
Volume XLII

MARCH, 1947

Number 1

HERBERT B. ADAMS AND SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

By WENDELL H. STEPHENSON



IN the last quarter of the nineteenth century the writing of history in the United States was undergoing profound changes.¹ The great literary historians, whose craftsmanship brought recognition of their wares, were passing from the scene; and a new era, with the college professor in the ascendancy, witnessed a radical departure in the treatment of the past. Monographic history became the order of the day. The new approach was impartial and supposedly scientific; the result was history that approximated truth but which, as critics said, was formless and dry as dust. Researchers consulted a multiplicity of sources in investigating local institutions and other minutiae, critically evalu-

¹ Research for this study, begun in 1939, was completed in 1944-1945 while the writer held a grant from the General Education Board, to whom thanks are gratefully acknowledged.

ated the evidence, cited authorities, and cast their findings in unliterary molds.

Other chroniclers than the literary masters antedated the "scientific" school and the dominance of the document. History was largely the avocational interest of clergymen, doctors, lawyers, and soldiers. They recorded both fact and fancy, a medley of reality and tradition. In the South in particular there were few if any literary luminaries preserving the past for posterity.² Histories of several southern states appeared in ante-bellum years and some historical societies were established, a few of which began to assemble and publish records. But, for the most part, Southerners were too busy defending their institutions and political and social creeds to become seriously interested in preserving records and in writing history. When the War for Southern Independence became a lost cause, sundry participants endeavored, through memoirs, reminiscences, and apologies, to justify secession and a resort to arms and to parade military achievements of the Confederacy. State historical societies were revived or newly established, and Confederate veterans organized the Southern Historical Society which began a series of monthly publications.³ A renaissance in state histories as well as in historical societies developed in postwar years. Yet postwar historical activity, like ante-bellum, was amateurish and unsystematic.

Critical and systematic study of history in the United States, it has long been recognized, began in the closing years of the nineteenth century, with the founding of the American Historical Association in 1884 as one of the early landmarks. Historians have also recognized Herbert Baxter Adams and his activities at the Johns Hopkins University as factors in the origin of a "scientific" school. Only recently have they come to appreciate the contributions of Adams and the Hopkins to the beginnings of southern historical scholarship.⁴

In a broader perspective the Hopkins was a significant factor in promoting a southern revival of learning in sundry fields of knowl-

² A possible exception to this statement was Charles E. A. Gayarré, whose *History of Louisiana*, 4 vols. (New York, 1854-1866), possessed considerable literary charm.

³ *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond, 1876-1910; 1914—).

⁴ See Wendell H. Stephenson, "A Half Century of Southern Historical Scholarship," in *Journal of Southern History* (Baton Rouge, 1935—), XI (1945), 4-8.

edge. While its influence on educational development in the South was recognized at the turn of the century, it has all but been forgotten in recent years. The editor of the *Southern History Association Publications* observed in 1901 that the school was "The Greatest Southern University, if we understand by that term an institution devoting a large part of its strength to post graduate instruction."⁶ Upon the retirement of Daniel C. Gilman as president of the University about the same time, the *Sewanee Review* said that the southern states' "educational history for the past quarter of a century has been largely that of the Johns Hopkins University. It is rare, indeed, to find at the South any college of note whose faculty has not been drawn largely from Baltimore, to say nothing of the impetus given everywhere to original research and to the publications of the results of such investigations."⁶

The South recovered slowly from the disastrous effects of Civil War and Reconstruction. Despite a few signs of an educational renaissance, institutions of higher learning, many of them dating from ante-bellum days, were still bound by the chains of poverty. The founding of the generously endowed Hopkins in 1876 provided an academic haven for students from the impoverished South. As one writer put it in 1900, while "the old and dismantled universities of the South were struggling to regain their vigor," the "newly created and fresh young leader, whom they soon learned to regard not as their rival, but as their inspiration and exemplar," found her great opportunity.⁷ The donor recognized the southern need for assistance, and requested in his will

⁶ Colyer Meriwether, in *Southern History Association Publications* (Washington, 1897-1907), V (1901), 448.

⁷ Burr J. Ramage, in *Sewanee Review* (Sewanee, 1892—), IX (1901), 379. It is possible that the first part of this statement is an exaggeration. By 1896 sixteen colleges and universities south of Mason and Dixon's Line had the following numbers of Hopkins students on their faculties: Woman's College of Baltimore, 10; University of the South, 8; Vanderbilt University, 6; Davidson College, 5; Louisiana State University, St. Johns College, and Wake Forest College, 4 each; Central University, Georgetown College, University of Georgia, Richmond College, University of South Carolina, University of Texas, Trinity College, Tulane University, and University of Virginia, 3 each. "A Survey of the Resources of the Johns Hopkins University in 1896," a forty-page supplement to the *Twenty-First Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1896* (Baltimore, 1896), Supplement, 12-15.

⁷ New York *Evangelist*, March 29, 1900, reprinted in Johns Hopkins University *Circulars* (Baltimore), XX, No. 149 (January, 1901), 23. A portion of the statement also appeared in *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1901* (Baltimore, 1901), 31-32.

that the trustees establish scholarships for candidates from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina who possessed "character and intellectual promise."⁸

By 1886, a decade after the school was established, 235 men from these states had received free tuition, and 150 of them had been honored as Hopkins Scholars. According to the President's *Report* of that year, 419 students were enrolled from Maryland, nearly half of the student body. Virginia sent 26, North Carolina 24, Kentucky 18, the District of Columbia 15, and other southern states lesser numbers. "Very few Baltimoreans," it was asserted, "now go away from home to obtain a college education."⁹ During the first twenty-three years of the University's life, Maryland contributed 1,455 students, and the whole South approximately 2,000 out of a total of 3,600. Dr. James C. Ballagh, instructor in the department of history, economics, and politics, exulted in 1900 that the founding of the Hopkins had "checked the exodus of youth to foreign universities—a custom dating from colonial times at the South—by offering them not only equal facilities, but a training more American and more suited to our Southern needs." He pointed out that during "the past year 239 out of a total of 465 advanced students have been enrolled from the South." And, by the end of the century, some two hundred Hopkins-trained men were teaching in southern states, and a like number were engaged in other professions or in business.¹⁰

The original faculty of the University drew heavily from the South, and by 1900 at least forty members—approximately a third of the whole—were "of Southern origins or connections." "This result, though without design," Ballagh asserted, "shows the broad liberality that governs the administration, and the creative work the University is doing for the South as well as for the rest of the country."¹¹

⁸ *Eleventh Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1886* (Baltimore, 1886), 16. For a sketch of the University's founder, see Broadus Mitchell, "Johns Hopkins," in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1944), IX, 213-14.

⁹ *Eleventh Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1886*, pp. 13, 16.

¹⁰ *New York Evangelist*, March 29, 1900, reprinted in *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, XX, No. 149 (January, 1901), 23. The figures in this paragraph must be discounted, as it cannot be assumed that all residents of Maryland and other states south of the Line were actually Southerners.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

If these expressions of indebtedness were true for the University as a whole, they were just as valid, perhaps more so, when applied to history and allied fields in particular. In appraising Adams' work near the close of his career, the *Sewanee Review* emphasized "the interest he has everywhere aroused in American history, and the publications which may be traced directly to his inspiration." While all parts of the nation had profited in these premises, no section "owes to the accomplished Director of the Historical Department of the Johns Hopkins University a heavier debt of gratitude than the Southern States. It is scarcely too much to say that the present interest this section manifests in history is contemporaneous with Dr. Adams. . . . And the occupant of many a chair of history at the various colleges of the South must always remember Dr. Adams as one who first taught him the true meaning of human progress, as well as the vital necessity of unceasing toil and publication."¹² Burr J. Ramage, Hopkins doctor of philosophy and professor of law at the University of the South, declared in 1901 that the growing interest in southern history paralleled Adams' stimulating influence, "and in this regard that section owes him a lasting debt of gratitude. He never failed to call attention to the importance of preserving ancient records and letters, whilst the tardy activity of more than one commonwealth south of the Potomac in such matters as manuscript commissions, as well as the growing number of books devoted to southern history, may be traced in no small measure to . . . [his] influence."¹³

There was nothing in Adams' nativity or training to foreshadow a contribution to southern historical scholarship. He was born in 1850 at Shutesbury, Massachusetts, not far from Amherst. After graduating with honor at Phillips Exeter Academy in 1868, he entered Amherst College and received the bachelor's degree as valedictorian a quadrennium later. His fate was decided, he said, by a lecture on the philosophy of history by President Julius H. Seelye who remarked "that history was the grandest study in the world." Following a year as teacher of classical history, mathematics, Latin, and Greek at Williston Seminary, Adams began an

¹² *Sewanee Review*, VIII (1900), 248.

¹³ Burr J. Ramage, "Professor Herbert Baxter Adams," in *Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends, with a Bibliography of the Department of History, Politics and Economics of the Johns Hopkins University, 1876-1901* (Baltimore, 1902), 63.

eventful three-year period abroad. He studied French at Lausanne, tarried a few months at Rome and Paris, and entered Heidelberg University in January, 1874. He mastered the German language in the home of Dr. Emil Otto, studied politics with Heinrich von Treitschke, Roman history with Wilhelm Ihne, and German philosophy and literature with Kuno Fischer. Treitschke's removal to the University of Berlin probably caused his own migration there for the winter semester of 1874-1875. A necessity for economy required a return to Heidelberg where he completed the doctorate under the direction of Johann K. Bluntschli. This eminent political scientist exerted a profound influence upon his student. Scientifically trained by able German scholars, Adams returned to the United States in 1876 to accept a postdoctoral fellowship at the newly established Johns Hopkins University.¹⁴

For the next quarter of a century Adams labored at the Hopkins to train students in scientific methodology, to inspire productive scholarship, to assemble a collection of historical materials, and to locate Hopkins men in responsible positions where they could establish "colonies" of the parent school. All of these objects were related in a mosaic. As so many southern men received their graduate training under Adams and his colleagues, it is appropriate to describe both mental stimulus and physical properties.

The hub of the department was, of course, the Director, whose office served as editorial headquarters of the *Studies in Historical and Political Science* and the *Contributions to American Educational History*, and whose prestige in the historical guild was enhanced by his position as secretary of the American Historical Association. As a productive scholar his major interest was institutional history. Two of his more significant monographs lay in the southern field: *The College of William and Mary* (1887) and *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia* (1888), published in the *Contributions* series. These studies of institutions of higher learning in Virginia provided a pattern for other scholars in evaluating educational development in the United States.

¹⁴ For biographical data, see John M. Vincent, "Herbert B. Adams, A Biographical Sketch," *ibid.*, 9-23; Richard T. Ely, "A Sketch of the Life and Services of Herbert Baxter Adams," *ibid.*, 27-49; John M. Vincent, "Herbert B. Adams," in Howard W. Odum (ed.), *American Masters of Social Science* (New York, 1927), 97-127, a rewriting of Vincent's earlier sketch; John S. Bassett, "Herbert Baxter Adams," in Johnson and Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 69-71.

What were the qualities of the man responsible for systematic study of American history and the first graduate work in that subject that attracted southern scholars? Colleagues and students at the Hopkins, almost without exception, spoke of his inspiration and infectious enthusiasm. John M. Vincent, who succeeded him as head of the department, said that Adams' success did not emanate from profound lectures, though they were "sound and interesting." Rather his genius lay in "continually pointing to more work to be done, more fields to be cultivated and more reputations to be made." The successes of former graduate students, whether in publications or promotions, were paraded before their successors with hortatory effect. "Such things as these men did were within the reach of the young aspirant, and the effect was to spur every man to do something worthy of that company. . . . The results were unequal, but the inspiration was universal and lasting."¹⁵ Adams' colleague in economics, Richard T. Ely, "soon discovered that capacity for leadership, for rallying men about him"; he gave Adams "credit for inventiveness in large plans and boldness in the execution of them"; he spoke of "his insight, his genius, in discovering talent where others did not see it."¹⁶

Student appraisals were in substantial agreement. A provocative statement by Adams in 1888, indicating that former Hopkins students had exhausted local institutions, "the chief remaining opportunity for constructive work in American history," and that the European field would now provide topics for investigation, was a factor that prompted Frederick J. Turner to write "The Significance of the Frontier in American History."¹⁷ But he conceded that Adams gave him "an added enthusiasm for historical research and a definite desire to relate history to the present. . . . His greatest power did not lie in keenness of scholarship nor in the critical character of his investigations; but I have never seen a man who could surpass him in inspiring men with enthusiasm for serious historical work."¹⁸ Virginia-born Woodrow Wilson took

¹⁵ Vincent, "Herbert B. Adams," in *Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends*, 21.

¹⁶ Ely, "A Sketch of the Life and Services of Herbert Baxter Adams," *ibid.*, 35, 41-42.

¹⁷ Frederick J. Turner to William E. Dodd, October 7, 1919, in William E. Dodd Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington. See also, Wendell H. Stephenson, "The Influence of Woodrow Wilson on Frederick Jackson Turner," in *Agricultural History* (Chicago, Baltimore, 1927—), XIX (1945), 252.

¹⁸ Quoted in Ely, "A Sketch of the Life and Services of Herbert Baxter Adams," in *Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends*, 45.

the doctorate at the Hopkins and later returned annually to give a series of lectures. Despite a critical attitude toward his mentor, Wilson sensed his points of strength. "If I were to sum up my impression of Dr. Adams," he recalled, "I should call him a great Captain of Industry, a captain in the field of systematic and organized scholarship. I think all his pupils would accord him mastery in the formulation of historical inquiry, in the suggestive stimulation of research, in the communication of methods and ideals. His head was a veritable clearing house of ideas in the field of historical study, and no one ever seriously studied under him who did not get, in its most serviceable form, the modern ideals of work upon the sources. . . . The thesis work done under him may fairly be said to have set the pace for university work in history throughout the United States."¹⁹

In evaluating Adams' contributions after the lapse of a half century it should be noted that he was one of the American pioneers who employed the seminar or laboratory method. Instruction was given in various fields of history, politics, and economics through series of lectures by resident professors and visiting scholars, but the system's core was the "Seminary of History and Politics," often referred to as "Adams' Seminary." Embracing the department's teaching staff and twenty-five to fifty graduate students, it assembled on Friday evenings for two hours in the Bluntschli Library, a room on the third floor of McCoy Hall fitted up with cases, tables, and desks. The physical properties of this "laboratory" promoted a scholarly atmosphere. Tables were covered with magazines of history, economics, and politics; cases contained books and manuscripts of Bluntschli, Edouard Laboulaye, and Francis Lieber; cases and walls were lined with busts and pictures of statesmen and historians. A special shelf was reserved for publications of former seminar students, and there was a complete file of the *University Studies* and the *Contributions to American Educational History*.²⁰ Motivation was a work of

¹⁹ Quoted *ibid.*, 46.

²⁰ Herbert B. Adams, *The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities* (Washington, 1887), 171-99, including pictures and floor plan of the Historical Seminary; *The Johns Hopkins University . . . Register for 1896-97* (Baltimore, 1897), 100-108; Vincent, "Herbert B. Adams," in Odum (ed.), *American Masters of Social Science*, 106-108; W. Stull Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams* (Baltimore, 1938), 18.

genius: with classes "friendly conferences amid an environment of books," with portraits of eminent scholars to emphasize "the character of a family gallery or the congenial familiarity of a social club," and with the stimulating effect of books published by predecessors in the seminar—it is entirely understandable how students at the Hopkins became fired with enthusiasm.²¹ Usually an evening would be devoted to a single report, followed by discussion. Occasionally a bifurcated program would be arranged, particularly when an off-campus scholar was available. There was a generous sprinkling of southern subjects presented. Ordinarily a student made but one report a year, though an unusually industrious researcher might give two, and once, in 1887-1888, William P. Trent reported three times. The secretaryship of the seminar rotated among the students, and the carefully prepared minutes recorded the findings of embryo historians, political scientists, and economists.²²

Other rooms in McCoy Hall were provided for students in European history, economics, jurisprudence, and comparative politics, each with appropriate books and portraits of outstanding scholars. A main lecture room served larger classes and also housed the department's archeological museum, embracing collections of ancient implements, Lake Dwellers' relics, Egyptian antiquities, and Greek and Roman coins. Corridors housed government documents, Alaskan artifacts, and assemblages of barbaric weapons and Indian relics.²³

Of more significance in the present study was the southern history room.²⁴ The Hopkins was established by a Southerner in a city that was southern in many of its attributes. Because southern scholars found the University a hospitable academic environment, a collection of materials on the literature and history of the southern region eventually developed. The year 1891 witnessed the acquisition of two valuable collections. Books and pamphlets relating to slavery, assembled by James G. Birney and his son, General William Birney of Washington, were pre-

²¹ *Johns Hopkins University . . . Register for 1896-97*, p. 105; Vincent, "Herbert B. Adams," in Odum (ed.), *American Masters of Social Science*, 124-25.

²² Johns Hopkins University Historical Seminary Records, 1877-1901, in Johns Hopkins University Library, Baltimore. The first volume covers the period, 1877-1892; the second, 1892-1901.

²³ *Johns Hopkins University . . . Register for 1896-97*, pp. 105-107.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

sented to the University. At the time this was said to be the largest collection of material on the subject.²⁵ Probably as a result of the Birney gift,²⁶ and following close on its heels, Colonel J. Thomas Scharf of Baltimore gave the University his collection of Americana. It embraced "some 50,000 pamphlets especially on Southern history, the files of fifteen or more Confederate newspapers for all or portions of the Civil War period, 3000 broadsides, a large assortment of the papers of important private citizens, and a mass of official Maryland records."²⁷ "I have long noted with regret," the donor wrote in presenting his gift, "how imperfectly the history, general and local, of the Southern States has been written, and the fact that this imperfection has been largely due to the absence or inaccessibility of material. No great collection of Southern historical documents exists. It is my hope that the Johns Hopkins University, founded by a Southern man in a Southern city, may see the way to do for the South what Northern universities have done for the North, and become the general repository for Southern history."²⁸

Adams himself added to the southern collection by contributing from his personal library sundry books and pamphlets on literature as well as history, on one occasion in the late 1890's donating a hundred volumes. About the same time a former student, Stephen B. Weeks, presented some works on North Carolina history. In 1900 Adams gave the University his whole library, comprising some 3,600 bound volumes and an equal number of pamphlets. At the turn of the century the Hopkins library exceeded a hundred thousand volumes and housed about that number of pamphlets. What proportion of its holdings represented history cannot be

²⁵ Birney thought of giving his collection to the American Historical Association, but correspondence with Adams resulted in presentation to the Johns Hopkins University Library. See William Birney to Herbert B. Adams, January 12, 1891, in Herbert Baxter Adams Correspondence, Johns Hopkins University Library.

²⁶ Birney to Adams, May 8, 1891, *ibid.* Birney wrote: "I am glad to learn that Col. Scharf has presented his historical collection to the Johns Hopkins University, and I am much gratified by your assurance that my donation may have led to his. Let us hope that the two examples may be followed by many owners of historical papers and documents." He added that he was aware of Scharf's reputation "as a very good rebel."

²⁷ W. Stull Holt, "John Thomas Scharf," in Johnson and Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 420. See also, for the Birney and Scharf collections, *Sixteenth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1891* (Baltimore, 1891), 14-17.

²⁸ Quoted in William K. Boyd, "Southern History in American Universities," in *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham, 1902—), I (1902), 240.

known, but a few years earlier the library boasted 18,000 volumes and 50,000 pamphlets in that category.²⁹ By the end of Adams' period there must have been a few thousand volumes on the South, in addition to manuscripts and pamphlets.³⁰ Interest in this field soon lapsed, and several years passed before other universities in the South began to build up southern collections.

Although the Hopkins had been in existence for over a score of years before formal courses in southern history were organized, from the very beginning of "Adams' Seminary" students had been investigating local institutions and political and economic problems in the South.³¹ They reported upon them in the seminar, and many of their monographs were published in the *University Studies*. As interest in the southern region grew, Adams provided special lectures in that field. In the 1890-1891 session, J. Franklin Jameson, who received the doctorate at the Hopkins in 1882, gave ten lectures on "the Constitutional and Political History of the Southern States." A decade later David F. Houston, then of the University of Texas, lectured upon aspects of the doctrine of nullification, and in 1901 John S. Bassett gave a series of three lectures on the Negro.³²

Meanwhile, in the second semester of the 1897-1898 session, Ballagh inaugurated the first systematic course in the history of the South. It was described as "*Southern Economic History*, with eight graduate students, one hour weekly. . . . The economic development of the South from 1607 to 1860 was illustrated by

²⁹ *Eighteenth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* . . . 1893 (Baltimore, 1893), 89; *Nineteenth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* . . . 1894 (Baltimore, 1894), 113; *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* . . . 1898 (Baltimore, 1898), 89; *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* . . . 1899 (Baltimore, 1899), 88, 94; *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* . . . 1900 (Baltimore, 1900), 97, 99; *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* . . . 1901, pp. 26, 109; *Johns Hopkins University* . . . *Register for 1896-97*, p. 105.

³⁰ The librarian reported as early as 1892 that the collection of materials on southern history embraced 3,000 volumes. *Seventeenth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* . . . 1892 (Baltimore, 1892), 85.

³¹ Johns Hopkins University Seminary Records, 1877-1901, *passim*.

³² *Sixteenth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* . . . 1891 (Baltimore, 1891), 10, 60; *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* . . . 1901, p. 81; John S. Bassett to Adams, June 21, October 23, November 14, December 15, 1899; April 1, November 2, 1900, in Adams Correspondence; Bassett to John M. Vincent, February 5, 1900; January 15, 1901, *ibid*.

special lectures on Agriculture, the Land System, Labor System, Staple Products, Extensive Cultivation, the Plantation System, and the Industrial Organization of each of the Colonies. The influence of customary and statute law, physical environment, political and commercial relations at home and abroad was also indicated." This course was supplemented by a weekly "*Conference on Southern History*," with an enrollment of seven graduate students. They were instructed in the use of the Birney and Scharf collections and materials available in the Peabody Library, the Maryland Historical Society, and the Enoch Pratt Free Library. The purpose of the conference, Ballagh said, "was to encourage coöperative research in the southern field."³³ Under his direction students not only investigated topics in the history of the South but also compiled, over a period of years, "a descriptive bibliography of manuscript sources and research work in southern history."³⁴

From 1898 until 1903 Ballagh gave either the course or the conference, sometimes both. In the 1900-1901 session he taught southern history to eight graduates. "The lectures were the result of original research," the description indicated, "and discussed the development of the land and labor systems of the American colonies; the peculiarities of Southern economic development and their bearing upon political history in the questions of the tariff, slavery, public lands and improvements; the creation and material development of the territory in the Southwest and West attached to the Old South; the influence of Southern agriculture upon incipient commerce and manufactures, etc. . . . The sources for original work in this field were pointed out to the class, and researches in phases of the history of Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia, and North Carolina were prosecuted by members of the class."³⁵

Beginning in the fall of 1903 and continuing until 1913 when he resigned to accept a professorship at the University of Pennsylvania, Ballagh alternated a course in the "History of American

³³ *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* . . . 1898, pp. 63-64.

³⁴ *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the President [of the Johns Hopkins University]* . . . 1903 (Baltimore, [1903]), 56. Sometime during the 1902-1903 session, George Petrie of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute "exhibited his collection of the manuscripts of William L. Yancey to the students and discussed their use." *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University* . . . 1901, p. 83.

Slavery" with another in the "History of Secession in the United States."⁸⁶ In his seminar in American history, students investigated southern topics, and some able men, as Douglas S. Freeman and H. J. Eckenrode, presented dissertations in that field. With Ballagh's departure from the University, interest in southern history disappeared. Presentation of courses on the South in the 1890's and the early years of the twentieth century were an important integrant in the development of southern historical scholarship. Offerings in southern history began to multiply, slowly at first and then more rapidly, until by the 1920's thirty or forty schools were presenting aspects or periods of the history of the South.⁸⁷ By 1940 more than a hundred colleges and universities offered one or more courses in southern history.

It should be noted also that, with few exceptions, Adams-trained men were productive scholars. He himself established a modest publication record, but productivity was not responsible for his reputation among a growing clientele. His contribution lay in the spirit of scientific research that permeated Hopkins students. They became saturated with an enthusiastic zeal for research and writing. Of the scores of former students—many of them in southern institutions—who corresponded with Adams, a large proportion wrote about the projects they had under way, the discovery of source materials that would promote research, or the problem of publishing a completed manuscript. Frequently they apologized for lack of productivity, with heavy teaching loads and other routine duties as an explanation.⁸⁸ "In the field of Southern historical writing," said the editor of the *Southern History Association Publications*, "it would not be far from accurate to say that Doctor Adams gave that great and greatly neglected subject almost the first well directed impulse that it had ever received."⁸⁹

One has only to peruse the volumes of the Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science* from their origin in 1883 to understand the importance of southern history as

⁸⁶ See *Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University . . . 1904* (Baltimore, 1904), 61; and the *Report* for each year to 1913. Occasionally neither course was offered.

⁸⁷ Wendell H. Stephenson, "History of the South in Colleges and Universities, 1925-1926," in *Historical Outlook* (title varies, Philadelphia, 1909—), XVII (1926), 319-22.

⁸⁸ Holt (ed.), *Historical Scholarship in the United States*, *passim*; and sundry letters in the Adams Correspondence not included in the Holt volume.

⁸⁹ *Southern History Association Publications*, V (1901), 501.

a field of research. Perhaps half a hundred monographs in the first nineteen volumes treated southern subjects, with an increasing proportion of space devoted to the field as time passed. A complete bibliography of the writings of Hopkins students and faculty members during the last quarter of the nineteenth century is even more revealing. The astounding factor is the volume of productivity. It required 158 printed pages to list articles, monographs, and books of the group, together with brief academic notes about the authors.⁴⁰ Of the total output a larger proportion than one might suppose dealt with the history of the southern region. Analyzing the compilation in 1902, William K. Boyd, then a graduate student at Columbia University, found that "fifty-three Southern members of the Department of History have written 748 monographs, books or articles, of which 316 have been specifically on the South, while non-Southern men have written 51 articles in addition upon the South." He concluded that "Such a record is one to be honored in any field of research, especially in one so important and long neglected."⁴¹

Despite the volume of productivity by Hopkins men in the southern field, historical scholarship in the South was still in its infancy. Much of the writing down to 1901 was superficial; many of the articles were extremely local in nature and represented little investigation; and a considerable proportion of the monographs published in the *Studies* and elsewhere were based upon meager sources of information. Like their colleagues in the North, southern men belonged to that incipient "scientific" school that emphasized historical accuracy rather than acceptable diction. If they presented little interpretation or avoided legitimate use of imagination, they were following inexorable precepts of the new technique. If they utilized limited sources, it was partly because there were few great manuscript or printed collections for them to draw upon. If they misquoted or miscited authorities, they were guilty of the same faults that still afflict the profession in the 1940's. In evaluating their work, it should be remembered that they were pioneers in a new approach. But when all these imperfections are indicated, the fact remains that a serious beginning had been made toward systematic and critical treatment of the South's past.

⁴⁰ Bibliographical section of *Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends*, 3-160.

⁴¹ Boyd, "Southern History in American Universities," in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, I (1902), 241.

The increasing number of Hopkins graduate students in history, political science, and economics from the South resulted from several factors, among them the conviction that Baltimore was a southern city, the objective approach to the study of the subjects, and the large number of fellowships available to residents of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. The most tangible of these factors was, of course, financial aid; the most substantial, the opportunity to study local institutions and other problems under competent and impartial direction. One has only to call the roll of Southerners trained in history and allied social studies at the Hopkins to understand how significant was the University's influence on the South. Among those who received the doctorate before Adams' death, and then did creditable work in the South, were Benjamin W. Arnold, James C. Ballagh, John S. Bassett, Charles H. Brough, Julian A. C. Chandler, William S. Drewry, Samuel E. Forman, Guy C. Lee, Alvin F. Lewis, Henry R. McIlwaine, John H. T. McPherson, Colyer Meriwether, George Petrie, Burr J. Ramage, Daniel R. Randall, Franklin L. Riley, Lawrence F. Schmeckebier, Enoch W. Sikes, St. George L. Sious-sat, Francis E. Sparks, Bernard C. Steiner, Charles C. Weaver, and Stephen B. Weeks. Still other Southerners enrolled at the Hopkins who did not complete work for the doctorate but whose names are written, some large and some small, in the register of southern historical scholarship. Among them were Henry E. Chambers, Shirley C. Hughson, Edward Ingle, Charles E. Jones, and William P. Trent. Walter H. Page held a fellowship at the Hopkins from 1876 to 1878 and studied the classics with Basil L. Gildersleeve, but his publications were listed in the bibliography of Adams' department. And because of their influence on the South and their interest in the region, the names of Woodrow Wilson and J. Franklin Jameson should not be ignored.

Several of these Hopkins students left a considerable impress upon historical scholarship in the South.⁴² Bassett and Trent were most versatile in their interests and accomplishments. Both were southern liberals, extremely dissatisfied with intellectual back-

⁴² Notes on Hopkins men have been compiled from sketches in Johnson and Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, *passim*; the bibliographical section of *Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends*, 3-160; *Who Was Who in America . . . 1897-1942* (Chicago, 1942), *passim*; *Who's Who in America* (Chicago, 1897—), XXIII (1944), *passim*; and the private papers of several of them.

wardness in the region, and each founded a quarterly magazine to provide a forum of liberal thought and literary criticism. While serving as professor of history and English at the University of the South in the last decade of the nineteenth century, Trent wrote some notable books on southern leaders, inventoried the South's belated beginnings in preserving records and in writing history, and gave the *Sewanee Review* a character and reputation that made it a dynamic magazine. For a dozen years, beginning in 1894, Bassett served as Professor of history at Trinity College, where he labored to promote state and regional development. He published monographs on North Carolina history, assembled southern materials in the College library, inaugurated courses in the history of his state, founded the *Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society* and the *South Atlantic Quarterly*, and impressed upon his students a detached and critical historical attitude.

A great teacher who emerged from Adams' tutelage was Petrie, whose fifty-five years of service at Alabama Polytechnic Institute inspired a score of Southerners with a genuine love for history and an ambition to pursue graduate study. The list is impressive. If he had done nothing more than incite an interest in history in men the caliber of Walter L. Fleming, Frank L. Owsley, Watson Davis, Albert B. Moore, Alfred W. Reynolds, Herman C. Nixon, and Charles S. Davis, his contribution would be worthy of recording. With limited resources in an agricultural and mechanical college, he presented history by the "laboratory" method, found ample illustration in southern leadership, and vitalized local history by dignifying Alabama in the curriculum.

Perhaps Riley's greatest contribution lay in a revival of the Mississippi Historical Society and in the inauguration of its series of *Publications*. Here he was emulating the example as well as the method of Thomas M. Owen of Alabama. But Riley's own service as editor and contributor provides a permanent place for him in southern historiography. Nor should it be forgotten that he inaugurated at the University of Mississippi, where he taught from 1897 to 1914, one of the early courses in the history of the South. His subsequent career at Washington and Lee University did not yield the constructive accomplishments of his Mississippi tenure.

Other editors of historical series who also served as librarians

were Steiner and McIlwaine. After teaching history and English at Hampden-Sydney College for a number of years, McIlwaine became librarian of the Virginia State Library. In that capacity he edited the *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia* (a work begun by John P. Kennedy) and the *Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*. Steiner, librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore, taught history at the Hopkins and elsewhere, wrote some meritorious monographs, and produced biographies of such Maryland statesmen as Reverdy Johnson, Henry Winter Davis, Roger B. Taney, and James McHenry. He served as editor of the *Archives of Maryland* in 1900 and from 1916 until his death a decade later.

As editor of the *Southern History Association Publications*, Meriwether performed a commendable function for an organization which, with limited resources in a period when southern scholarship was still unfledged, struggled to preserve a record of the South's past. He was one of the earliest critics of the "scientific" school of monographers, and took its devotees to task for writing history that no one read, not even those who attempted syntheses. Beyond his editorial function, he produced a valuable biography of Raphael Semmes.

Two Baltimore journalists, Ingle and Lee, made creditable contributions to history and near-history. Ingle is remembered chiefly for his *Southern Sidelights* (1896), a notable work that pictured ante-bellum economic and social life, but he also published books on the District of Columbia Negro and southern material progress, and he contributed sundry articles to the *Southern Farm Magazine* and other periodicals. As a publicist, Lee edited the *Baltimore Sun* and some nonhistorical series of books. For a time he taught history at the Hopkins and comparative politics at George Washington University, and he also wrote some history and biography, including a study of the Civil War and a life of Robert E. Lee.

After a tour of duty at Smith College, Sioussat was appointed professor of history and economics at the University of the South in 1904, and he served as professor of history at Vanderbilt University from 1911 until 1917. During his last two years at Vanderbilt he edited the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*. His early monographs were on phases of Maryland history, and several of his articles dealt with the history of the South. In 1917 he accepted a call to a northern university.

In the early 1890's Weeks taught history and political science for a biennium at Trinity College, where he founded the Trinity College Historical Society. He was also one of the founders of the Southern History Association. His monographs on North Carolina and southern history were serious pieces of investigation; his indexes to the North Carolina census of 1790 and to the commonwealth's colonial and state records were a tangible service to researchers. For several years he served the United States Bureau of Education as editor and historian. His contributions to southern educational history were particularly significant. These included histories of public school education in Arkansas, Alabama, and Tennessee, a bibliography of Confederate textbooks, and a study of the origins of southern common schools. Weeks assembled an extensive collection of Caroliniana, embracing ten thousand books and pamphlets, acquired after his death by the University of North Carolina.

At least four Hopkins men of Adams' period attained college presidencies in the South: Chandler at William and Mary, Sykes at Coker and Clemson, Weaver at Rutherford, Davenport, Emory and Henry, and Martha Washington, and Riley at Hillman. Chandler had previously taught history at William and Mary and at Richmond College, and had written some monographs on Virginia history; Sykes had served as professor of history and political economy at Wake Forest College and had produced some studies in North Carolina history; Weaver, in contrast to Riley, had been little interested in research and writing.

The only Hopkinsian of southern origins to attain political distinction in the national picture was Woodrow Wilson. Of the Southerners who remained in the South, Brough achieved most recognition in the political arena. He became professor of economics at Mississippi College and wrote monographs on taxation, banking, and transportation in his native state. In 1903 he became professor of economics at the University of Arkansas, attained prominence as a lecturer on economic and social problems, sponsored Wilson's candidacy for the presidency in 1912, and served as governor of Arkansas, 1917-1921.

The accomplishments of a few other Hopkins men may be considered briefly. After a year as instructor at the University of Michigan, McPherson served for half a century as head of the

history and political science department at the University of Georgia. Ramage became dean of the law school at the University of the South, associate editor of the *Sewanee Review*, and author of articles on southern subjects. Chambers was interested primarily in secondary education and participated in chautauqua and normal work. As a historian, his study of the Mississippi Valley in its early years and a three-volume history of Louisiana brought considerable recognition. Early writings of Forman treated Thomas Jefferson and Philip Freneau; later he concentrated upon general American history and civics. Schmeckebier's dissertation dealt with the American party in the state of Maryland, and Randall, a Baltimore attorney, published some studies in Maryland history.

These and other Hopkins-trained men who passed through "Adams' Seminary" in the last two decades of the nineteenth century wrote and taught southern history, established historical societies and media of publication, gathered the raw materials of southern history into libraries and archives, administered southern colleges, and otherwise contributed to the origins of historical scholarship in the South. Adams' premature death in 1901, at the age of fifty-one, was an irreparable loss to historical activity at the Hopkins. Where could the University turn for a recognized scholar to succeed him, especially one who would continue to attract students from the South?

Ira Remsen, who succeeded Gilman as president, sought the assistance of Bassett and Frederick Bancroft in inducing William A. Dunning to accept the directorship of the department. The Columbia University professor had already acquired a reputation as an impartial authority on the Civil War and Reconstruction periods, and graduates of southern colleges and universities were manifesting confidence by enrolling in his classes. Early in 1903 Bassett and Bancroft approached Dunning on the possibility of transferring to Baltimore, a suggestion which "flattered and honored" the man who was soon to be affectionately regarded as the "Old Chief" by a growing southern clientele. A definite offer was made the following summer which Bassett thought superior to the position at Columbia "because of its larger opportunity, the greater freedom of personal control and its somewhat increased salary." As late as August 25 Dunning assured Bassett that he would accept the call because of the "excellent prospect

for good scholarly work " at the Hopkins. It soon developed that a decision would depend upon the state of his health. Returning to New York from a summer vacation in New Hampshire, he took "the opinion of two high grade (& of course high priced) physicians," who said he "would incur grave risks in undertaking a task involving unaccustomed and nerve-straining duties." He would therefore have to "settle down in the old rut" and even relinquish the editorship of the *Political Science Quarterly*.⁴⁸ With Dunning at the helm the Hopkins could have continued its dominant position in the field of southern history; his continuance at Columbia transferred the center of southern historical scholarship from Baltimore to New York.

⁴⁸ William A. Dunning to Bassett, January 18, August 25, September 6, October 1, 1903, in John S. Bassett Correspondence, in possession of Mrs. J. S. Bassett, Northampton, Massachusetts; Ira Remsen to Bassett, August 8, 31, 1903, *ibid.*; Bassett to Remsen, August 24, 1903, *ibid.*; Frederic Bancroft to Bassett, August 28, 1903, *ibid.*

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS IN BALTIMORE, DEC. 20, 1776 TO FEB. 27, 1777

By EDITH ROSSITER BEVAN

Every school child learns that George Washington resigned his commission as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army at Annapolis. The Continental Congress had assembled there the winter of 1783-84 and the ceremony took place in the State House on December 23rd, 1783. Textbooks and historians, however, give scant mention to an earlier meeting of the Continental Congress in Baltimore the gloomy winter of 1776-77. On the 27th day of December the Congress vested General Washington with almost dictatorial powers to conduct the War for Independence. At this dark moment the army had dwindled to less than 3,000 men whose short-term enlistments would be up in another month. These extraordinary powers, conferred upon Washington for a period of six months, authorized him to raise sixteen battalions, 3,000 light horse, three regiments of artillery and a corps of engineers, all to be enlisted till the war should end; to appoint the officers; to take any private property needed for the army, and to arrest any person who refused to take Continental money or manifested a lack of sympathy with the American cause.¹

Earlier that month—only five months from the day that Liberty was proclaimed from Independence Hall in Philadelphia—Generals Putnam and Mifflin urged Congress in session there to seek safer quarters. Philadelphia was within striking distance of Lord Howe's army which was sweeping victoriously southward through New Jersey. Congress, apprehensive over its possible capture with that of the city, realized that without a central governing body the war could not continue and their struggle for independ-

¹ *Journals of Continental Congress* (Washington, 1906) VI, 1045-46.

ence would be ended. They adjourned on the twelfth of December to meet in Baltimore a week later.

Baltimore Town, as it was then called, for it was not incorporated as a city until 1797, was a mere village compared to Philadelphia which prior to the war claimed a population of 40,000 and was not only the largest city in the colonies, but the second largest city in the British Empire, surpassed only by London.² Philadelphia supported seven newspapers and Baltimore but two—the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*³ and *Dunlap's Gazette or the Baltimore General Advertiser*,⁴ both published weekly.

Baltimore's growth had been meteoric. According to John Moale's view of 1752 there were only twenty-five houses, but in 1775 it boasted a population of nearly 6,000. Five hundred and sixty-four houses were recorded in the census⁵ of this year and the over-crowded inhabitants, most of them living in wooden houses, had gladly subscribed £73 7s for a "Mechanical Company," as their first fire company was called. Though the little town was growing up, the streets were still unpaved, for with the coming of the war such projects had been laid aside.

The visiting members of Congress complained bitterly about the dirty, muddy streets they had to traverse that drab winter when hope was low and despondency high. Oliver Wolcott, delegate from Connecticut, wrote to his wife on January first,⁶ "It is infinitely the most dirty Place I ever was in. No one can walk except in Boots.", and William Hooper of the New York delegation informed Robert Morris, still in Philadelphia, "This dirty boggy hole beggars all description. We are obliged, except when the Weather paves the streets to go to Congress on Horseback, the way so mirey that Carriages almost stall on the sides of them."

² Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen* (New York, 1942) pp. 3, 76.

³ Founded by William Goddard in 1773. He also established a private system of post offices and riders which Congress in 1775 declared to be the official system of the country. When Goddard was absent from Baltimore during the war the paper was edited and printed by his sister, Mary Katharine Goddard, who was also postmistress of Baltimore. Lawrence C. Woth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1922) p. 130.

⁴ Founded in 1775 by John Dunlap of Philadelphia. He was appointed official printer to Congress in 1778 and the *Gazette* expired that year. *Ibid.*, pp. 116-17.

⁵ Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1824) p. 62.

⁶ Edmund C. Burnett, ed., *Letters of Members of Continental Congress* (Washington, 1923) Vol. II, Letters #247-391.

Out-spoken Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia called it "the Damdest Hole in the world."

The Baltimore Committee of Correspondence, of which Samuel Purviance, Jr., was chairman, offered Congress the use of the Court-house and had it repaired for their reception. Congress, however, chose to meet as John Adams recorded in his diary,⁷ "in the last house at the west end of Market Street, on the south side of the street; a long chamber, with two fireplaces, two large closets and two doors." The house belonged to Henry Fite,⁸ who rented it to Congress for three months for £60.

"Congress Hall," as it was afterwards called in memory of the event with which it was associated, was a spacious three-story and dormered attic brick building—10 windows long, with 3 doors, and 5 windows deep with a center door on the short side.⁹ It stood on the corner of Liberty and Baltimore Street, as Market Street is now called. Beyond it was the sixty-acre tract of land owned by John Eager Howard that was not laid out and annexed to Baltimore until 1782.¹⁰

It was a small group of weary men who assembled in "Congress Hall" that winter. They groaned over the long hours spent in Congress during the day and the long hours spent in committee

⁷ *Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850) II, 435-36.

⁸ Information supplied by Mr. Richard D. Steuart. (See *Baltimore News-Post*, Oct. 14, 1946.)

⁹ Henry Fite died intestate, Oct. 25, 1789. At that time the "Congress Hall" property was resurveyed and made into 3 separate lots, which were rented to Samuel Chase, Dr. Coale and Jacob Fite (1771-1806) son of Henry. Two years later the Orphans Court of Baltimore Co. ordered the property sold at Public Vendue for distribution among his six children. Jacob Fite became the owner of the largest lot. In the Baltimore City Directory, 1802 he is listed as a flour merchant and grocer. His will leaves to his wife, Nancy Reinicker, "the rents and profits of my house and lot on Market St. and my house situate on Liberty St. for the support of my six children." A picture of "Congress Hall" made shortly before it was destroyed by fire on September 4, 1860, is shown on page 53 of *Baltimore, 1729-1929, Two Hundredth Anniversary*. A bronze tablet placed by the Sons of the American Revolution in 1894 on the east wall of the National Exchange Bank (now occupied by a men's clothing store) marked the approximate site of the building. The marker in later years was moved to the west side of the building.

¹⁰ This property was inherited from his father, Cornelius Howard, who died in 1776. Col. Howard, who served with distinction throughout the war, commemorated battles and leaders of the Revolution by giving to new streets such names as Lexington, Saratoga, Eutaw, Greene and Paca. In the Henry F. Thompson Papers of the Society is found the correspondence between Mr. Thompson and the late Richard D. Fisher regarding the site of Congress Hall. The letters are dated 1906 and are concerned with the appropriate place for the bronze marker.

meetings at night. Dr. Rush complained in a letter to Robert Morris, "We live here as in a Convent, we converse only with one another." Throughout the entire session Congress was hampered by inadequate representation. No state could cast a vote unless three of her delegates were present and in this respect Maryland was one of the chief offenders.¹¹ Samuel Chase wrote to the Maryland Council of Safety: "We have not 30 members in Congress and it is not only improper but impossible for so small a Number to conduct so very important Business." He wrote on February 6th, "I must repeat the necessity of a Representation"; and again, "Our state is still unrepresented and every day matters of the greatest importance are debated and determined." John Hancock, president of Congress, comments in a letter to Robert Morris written January 14th, "We have not yet had a Representation from New York, Delaware or Maryland, the latter is rather strange." On the 11th of February he addressed the Maryland Council of Safety, "Gentlemen: I have it in a charge from Congress to Request that the State of Maryland may be fully and constantly Represented."

Despite trying conditions Congress carried on. They met daily, made resolves and issued orders. Many of the measures they debated were similar to problems of today. They discussed the advisability of regulating wages and the control of prices of commodities. "You have limited Bohea tea to $\frac{3}{4}$ of a dollar and yet it is daily sold before your eyes for 50/" argued Dr. Rush in debate, and Dr. Witherspoon added, "In Pennsylvania salt was limited to 15/ but was sold for 60/ per bushel." Black market is nothing new. John Adams wrote in his diary, "The Gentlemen from Pennsylvania and Maryland complain of the growing practice of distilling wheat into whiskey. They say it will become a question of whether the people shall eat bread or drink whiskey." In private the delegates bewailed the high cost of living. They

¹¹ Maryland delegates to the Third Continental Congress were: Charles Carroll, Barrister (attended Dec. 21-Jan. 19); Charles Carroll of Carrollton (did not attend; elected to the first Maryland Senate, he was in attendance at Annapolis); Samuel Chase (attended Jan. 2 and until the end of the session); William Paca (attended Jan 16-Feb. 17); Benjamin Rumsey (elected Feb. 15, attended Feb. 18 and probably left for the Eastern Shore where a Tory uprising was threatened); William Smith (elected Feb. 15, attended until the end of the session); Thomas Stone (did not attend owing to his wife's illness). After Feb. 15th two delegates constituted a voting quorum.

grumbled over the lack of boarding houses and the prices they were charged. ". . . This extravagant hole where with all possible Oeconomy we live at the rate of 50/ per day," wrote William Hooper to a friend in New York. Abraham Clark of New Jersey lamented "the extravagant price of living here, the poorest board without Liquor, a Dollar a Day, . . . and everything else in proportion."

There were, however, a few high lights and bright spots for the delegates to write home about. On the last day of December, 1776, Col. Baylor, aid-de-camp to General Washington, delivered to Congress a letter from the General telling them of his success at Trenton on Christmas night. A silken standard captured from the Hessians was proudly hung in their meeting hall. A few days later they heard of the rout of the British at Princeton and before the end of the month they knew that Washington had recovered almost the entire State of New Jersey and had found safe winter quarters for his army at Morristown.

Good news proved a strong tonic for the weak nerves of Congress. Samuel Adams wrote to his cousin John, still in Massachusetts, "We have done more important business in three weeks than we had done, or I believe should have done in Philadelphia in six months." Colonel Whipple wrote back to New Hampshire, "There is more unanimity in Congress than ever before."

Congress was now impatient to return to Philadelphia but President Hancock advised against a hasty removal as "the Printing Presses are here and set to work, and as money is so urgently needed . . . it would not be prudent." These presses with the printers of Continental currency had followed Congress in the flight from Philadelphia. Miss Goddard, editor and printer of the *Maryland Journal*, who evidently enjoyed a monopoly of the printing business in Baltimore, lamented in the December 30th issue of her paper the opening of three new printing offices—and more expected in a few days. Supplies had to be purchased for the troops and soldiers had to be paid. "The American States Lottery" sponsored by Congress did not prove popular and as Congress lacked the power to raise the tax rate, Continental paper currency¹² was the best and only answer. Forty-two gentlemen

¹² Specimens printed by Hall and Sellers of Philadelphia, dated Baltimore, Feb. 26, 1777, are in the collection at the Maryland Historical Society.

from Baltimore Town and County were appointed by Congress to sign and countersign this issue.¹³

John Adams did not take his seat in Congress until the fourth of February. The day after his arrival he wrote his wife, "I have never been more pleased with any of our American States than with Maryland . . . Baltimore is a very pretty town." He found comfortable lodgings at Mrs. Ross's on Market Street, a few doors below Fountain Inn, in company with the other delegates from Massachusetts. ". . . everything agreeable except the monstrous price of things—cannot get a horse under a guinea a week."¹⁴

In his brief stay of four weeks Adams must have become very familiar with the crooked streets of the little town. His diary tells that his first Sunday in Baltimore was a day of fasting, appointed by the Government on recommendation of Congress. He heard an elegant discourse by the worthy Mr. Allison¹⁵ at the First Presbyterian Church, and in the afternoon "walked to Fell's Point—the place where the ships lie." One evening he supped with friends over the bridge in Old Town. Another Sunday he heard Dr. Witherspoon¹⁶ preach an excellent sermon. He walked with his colleague, Elbridge Gerry,¹⁷ "to a place called Ferry Branch . . . a ferry which goes over the road to Annapolis." From there they had a full view of the splendid seat¹⁸ of Mr. Charles Carroll, Barrister, "a large and elegant house—one mile from the water, . . . there is a beautiful garden and then a fall, another flat garden and then a fall, and so on down to the river." That evening he and Gerry were guests at a small dinner given by Mr. Smith,¹⁹ newly elected delegate from Maryland—"a grave,

¹³ List of names in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, March 4.

¹⁴ *Familiar Letters of John Adams and his Wife* (Boston, 1876) pp. 237-48.

¹⁵ Rev. Patrick Allison, minister of the First Presbyterian Church, was appointed chaplain to Congress on Dec. 23, 1776. Rev. William White, rector of Christ's Church, Philadelphia, a brother-in-law to Robert Morris, was also appointed. Dr. White was elected the first bishop of the P. E. Church in America in 1786.

¹⁶ John Witherspoon, D. D., President of Princeton College, the only minister who signed the Declaration of Independence.

¹⁷ Signer of the Declaration of Independence from Mass., Governor of Mass. 1810-12; vice-president of the U. S., 1813-14.

¹⁸ "Mount Clare" in Carroll Park. (See article in this issue, "'Mount Clare,' Baltimore," by Lilian Giffen—Editor.)

¹⁹ William Smith, born in Pennsylvania; moved to Baltimore about 1761; member of the Committees of Correspondence and of Observation for Baltimore Town. Member of the first U. S. Congress and first auditor of the U. S. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1927), p. 1545.

solid gentleman, a very different man from the most we have heretofore had from Maryland."

President Hancock was fortunate in renting the house of Mr. George McCall²⁰ during his stay in Baltimore and he too entertained delegates and merchants at his home. Adams' diary tells of a stag dinner there when he and Mr. Lux,²¹ Messrs. Samuel and Robert Purviance,²² Capt. James Nicholson of the Maryland frigate *Virginia* and several other gentlemen frugally dined on salt New England fish.

Some of the prominent merchants who worked in close harmony with Congress also entertained the delegates at their homes. Perhaps they felt their city was somewhat lacking in graciousness. John Adams noted in his diary a dinner given by Mr. Lux at his elegant seat "Chatsworth," about a half mile out of town. "Mr. Lux lives like a Prince." Mr. Adams wrote his wife about a dinner for eight couples given by Mr. Samuel Purviance. The guests included "the President and lady, the two Colonel Lees and their ladies . . . a brilliant company" and doubtless a grand feast. He manfully tried to describe the ornaments worn on the wrists of the ladies from Virginia; "like miniature pictures bound round the arms with some chains." Were they bracelets? Abigail Adams would have known.

The wives of the delegates must have welcomed these diversions even more than their busy husbands, for Baltimore Town must have been a rather boring place that winter for them. No balls or assemblies were given and theatrical performances were prohibited during the war. There were no new importations in the

²⁰ Information supplied by Mr. Richard D. Stuart. (*Baltimore News-Post*, Oct. 14, 1946).

²¹ William Lux, vice-chairman of the Committee of Correspondence for Baltimore Town; owner of a large rope-walk which furnished much cordage for vessels during the war. He married Agnes Walker who inherited "Chatsworth" from her father, Dr. George Walker.

²² The Purviance brothers, born in Ireland, were agents for Congress in securing supplies. Samuel settled in Baltimore as a merchant in 1768, and was chairman of the Committee of Correspondence for Baltimore Town. He was captured by Indians on the Ohio River in 1788 and never heard of again. Robert Purviance, *A Narrative of Events in Baltimore Town During the Revolutionary War* (Baltimore, 1849) p. 32. Robert settled in Baltimore in 1763. John Adams thought highly of him: "He seems to me to have a perfect understanding of the affairs of this State. Men and things are very well known to him."

shops. William Prichard had not yet opened his Circulating Library²³ of "nearly 2,000 volumes, on Market Street, where Ladies or Gentlemen may become Readers by subscribing for One Month, three Months or by Agreement for a single book," but he advertised in *Dunlaps's Gazette* a fairly long list of books for sale at his book store, including one novel—*The Vicar of Wakefield*.

Congress adjourned on February 27th and soon the members started on their journey back to Philadelphia where they assembled on the 12th of March. As they bade goodbye to Baltimore did they feel more kindly about the little town on the Patapsco that had been their refuge and safe haven for the past ten weeks?—we wonder!

²³ Bookplate of Prichard's Circulating Library is in the collection at the Maryland Historical Society.

"MOUNT CLARE," BALTIMORE

By LILIAN GIFFEN

Confusion and traffic congestion beat hard on the pulses of a modern city, factory smoke and fumes from motor-propelled vehicles hang low in its air, and the ponderous bulk of trucks and vans obscures the sides of streets and roadways. Still, sometimes, the massed foliage of old trees breaks the lines of rows of small houses or nondescript commercial buildings, and suddenly, as if by magic, one is transported into a different world and era.

Only a short distance from the crowded Washington Boulevard there is such a spot in Baltimore. A broad driveway sweeps into a wooded area called by the name of the original owner, Carroll Park, and roads rise to an elevation on which stands, in perfect state and preservation, a colonial mansion, the only one now remaining within the city limits.

This is "Mount Clare," home of Charles Carroll, Barrister.

Carroll Park belongs to the City of Baltimore, which acquired it in 1890, and the municipality keeps the grounds and gardens in excellent condition. Rare trees and shrubs grow on the place, and two magnificent old elms near the house shade a perfect vantage point from which to overlook the city.

For some years the house was painted a pale yellow, but in the last restoration the paint was removed, and the beautiful color of the original bricks stands against the background of sky and trees. The interior was redecorated at the same time, 1940.

Today the house has two wings, and two show in an old painting. Two wings also show in the painting on a chair now on exhibition at the Baltimore Museum of Art, but speculation or research has not yet decided the question whether the curved arch indicated in the outside brickwork of the east end of the building led into a second wing, or was thrown out as a balcony in the original construction. And the architectural mystery is heightened by the presence on the landing of the staircase against the inside

wall of the hall, of a lovely wooden door through which there is no tangible opening.

The house itself has been put in the custody and care of the Maryland Society of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, and is held as a museum. But it has not lost its character as a home, and the columned portico and delicately curtained windows greet the arrivals of today even as they did the visitors of the seventeen hundreds.

It would seem as if some building on the place had begun in 1754,¹ for the Barrister's father Charles Carroll, "Chyrurgeon," who bought the land called "Georgia," and later alluded to it sometimes as "Patapsco," and sometimes as "The Mount," wrote to his son Charles, then in England: "Your brother is now at Patapsco where I believe he will settle. He keeps a bachelor's house there, and I am building a mill and bakehouse there for him." This brother (John Henry) died young, and about a year after his death, and not long after the Barrister returned to Maryland, Dr. Carroll himself passed away on September 29, 1755.

The "Mount Clare" property originally extended down to the river, and from the windows of the house vessels could be seen loading and unloading cargoes. In the development of the place the River Road, as it was sometimes called, came down from the house past a series of terraces—"falls" as they were termed.

John Adams thus described them in his diary:

At the point you have a full view of the elegant, splendid seat of Mr. Carroll, barrister. It is a large and elegant house; it stands fronting looking down the river into the harbor; it is one mile from the water. There is a most beautiful walk from the house down to the water; there is a descent not far from the house;—you have a fine garden, then you descend a few steps and have another fine garden; you go down a few more and have another.²

A part of the lovely old patterned brick steps that led down the terraces still runs down almost to the street, giving delightful vistas to the present confines of the Park. A subterranean passage,

¹ One writer states that a brick taken from a part of the house that was demolished bore the date 1756. Allen Kerr Bond, M. D., in *Baltimore; Its History and Its People*, edited by Clayton C. Hall (1912), p. 444. According to Thomas W. Griffith, *Annals of Baltimore* (1824), p. 35, "Mount Clare" was built in 1754; the same date is followed by J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore*, (1873), p. 50.

² *Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850), II, 435.



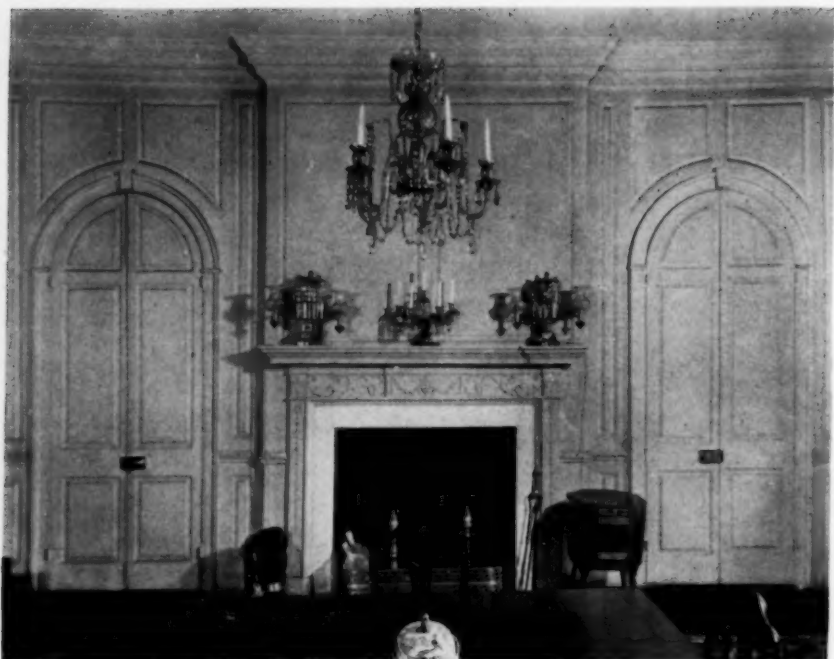
Detail from landscape in oil, showing Mt. Clare Mansion as it probably looked during the lifetime of Barrister Carroll. The painting from which this is taken was formerly owned by the Carroll family and now belongs to Mr. Walter M. Jeffords. Tradition has attributed the painting to Charles Willson Peale, but this attribution is now open to question. Photograph by courtesy of Mr. Jeffords and Mr. Charles C. Sellers.



North Front, "Mount Clare," showing columns of stone ordered by the Barrister from England in 1767. Above, a Palladian window. The original wings long since disappeared and the present ones were built after the acquisition by the City. Photo from the *Baltimore-Annapolis Sketchbook*, courtesy Mr. Frederick Philip Stieff.



Archway on the left of small entrance hall, leading to stair hall. Above stairs are two large bedrooms, a small bedroom and a sewing room.



Dining room, east wall. The mantel in the Adam style, as well as the doors and door-frames, are of wood. The walls and cornice are of plaster.



Drawing room, looking southwest. In the principal rooms the paneling is of plaster. Most of the furniture here is said to have been that bought by Barrister Carroll.

whose exact purpose, or use, is a matter of conjecture, formerly ran between the house and the river, but that has now been closed.

"Mount Clare" reflects the care and taste used in its construction. The exact dimensions of the columns of the portico were carefully specified, and the windowed front over the entrance is distinctive. The arch of the hall is spacious in proportion and chaste in line, and the carved balusters of the stairway run up to the third floor. What were probably powder closets open in one of the bed rooms.

To the right of the main entrance of the house is the office, or study of the Barrister, to which a special entrance can be gained by a side door from the garden. In the drawing room and dining room the windows overlook the terraces and garden to the south. The walls of both rooms are panelled in plaster, an unusual feature in domestic architecture of the time.

English plate and mahogany are now in the dining room, and in the corner cupboard show the gleam of luster, the delicate designs of Lowestoft, and the rich blue of Nankin and Canton china.

The influence in the drawing room is French. With changing political conditions in the Colonies, and contacts and affiliations with France, it was natural that French designs and fashions in furnishings should find place in America. The furniture now in the drawing room at "Mount Clare" is part of the original set ordered by the Barrister for the embellishment of his home, and its present setting is in admirable keeping. A delicate blue tone colors the walls, the brocade hangings are a soft old red, light catches on the chrystal pendants of the chandelier and in the French mirror in its gilt frame on the wall, and the rich tones of an Aubusson rug cover the floor.

Charles Carroll, "Chyrurgeon," had come over from Ireland about 1715, and established himself in Annapolis in medical practice. Later he went into tobacco, built ships, and sent flour and food stuffs to the sugar islands of the West Indies. But speculation in land, and the development of the iron industry were the principal sources of his ultimate fortune.

In the eighteenth century there were four Charles Carrolls of note and prominence in Maryland—Charles Carroll and his son, Charles Carroll of Carrollton; and Charles Carroll "Chyrurgeon" and his son Charles Carroll, Barrister.

Charles Carroll of Carrollton lived to a great age, hence his con-

nection with affairs in the State continued long after the death of the Barrister, on March 23, 1783.^a

Charles Carroll, Barrister, was equally active and forceful during the Revolutionary period in the affairs of Maryland. His leadership in the community was recognized, and he served on most of the important committees in the conventions in Maryland, and framed, or helped to frame, some of the great state documents. He was a member of the Committee of Correspondence, was put on the Committee of Safety, and presided over several conventions, including the one that relieved Governor Eden of his office.

Charles Carroll, Barrister, was one of the seven most distinguished patriots appointed to prepare a declaration and charter of rights, and a form of government for the State of Maryland. Elected to Congress, and having declined the Chief Judgeship of the General Court, he was elected to the first State Senate, an office he held until his death.

The future Barrister was taken to Europe when a child for his education, his father having resolved as he wrote to a relative " (with God's Assistance) to give him the best I am able."

He studied at Cambridge University and did not come home until he was twenty three years of age when he remained in Maryland for some years and then returned to England to read law in the Temple.

There must have been much to make life agreeable to a man young, rich, cultured and attractive, and Charles Carroll probably enjoyed his opportunities and advantages. Dr. Carroll wrote letters of general advice and comment in the moralizing style of the day when forwarding remittances, such as: " I hope you will lay out this money in Necessaries for your Person or Endowment of Your mind and not spend in Wine or Riot, Remark that Women and Wine are the Bane of youth."

But one suggestion of possibly personal considerations comes in a letter of May 8th, 1754, saying: " You must not look on every Body that speaks you fair to be your ffriend[.] as to any notion of settling there I fear it will not answer for Ladies of ffortune will scarce give it to fforeigners whose Estates they deem in England

^a Barrister Carroll died childless, leaving " Mount Clare " to his sister's son, James Maccubbin, on condition that he take the Carroll name. This he did and the property remained for generations in the possession of this family.

very precarious. Therefore you must fix your Eye for future Life in Maryland."

The Barrister early owned property in his own right, and was consulted by his father in business and legal matters. He was therefore probably well fitted to take charge of the large inheritance that came to him.

He gave careful attention to the details of the Baltimore Iron Company, in which he had inherited an interest, maintained his town house in Annapolis, and carried out extensive plans at " Mount Clare."

Orders to, and invoices from, his agents in London show the importation of a coach for town use; post chaise with harness for four horses and postilion saddles; stop watch with two hands " as I am concerned with the blood and running breed of horses "; " Fishing Reel to hold lines, hooks, leads, etc. with all the apparatus complete "; tools; seeds; wines; books; silver; china; glass; mahogany furniture and looking glasses in gilt frames; draperies; materials; clothing.

The Barrister appreciated and desired fine things, but his taste was refined, and he often stipulated that things were not to be made " in the extremes of fashion "; and objected to the width and weight of the gold lace used on one of his coats as too " Broad and Glaring," saying he would have it removed and wished the tailor to send him a narrower lace.

After the *Maryland Gazette* announced his marriage on June 23, 1763, to Margaret, daughter of Matthew Tilghman, " a young lady of Merit, Beauty and Fortune," orders included other items—" a lady's watch and chain; diamond hoop ring, sprig for wearing in the hair of opal and paste mixed; fashionable breast flowers; caps of gauze and lace and flowers; fashionable hat; velvet mantle; négligé; and flowered brocade for dress which has a light gold sprig or flower woven into the silk."

Mr. and Mrs. Carroll wished to establish special varieties of fruit trees at " Mount Clare," and agents were directed to send not only the seeds but, if possible, small trees in boxes.

An interesting sidelight on the vegetable garden appears in the order for broccoli seed. Whether it was the same variety now cultivated, or whether that vegetable did not then appeal generally to the American palate and was lost sight of, is not known, but

members of the A. E. F. in Europe in 1918-19 sent broccoli seed to relatives in the United States as a novelty and special delicacy.

The Barrister was of scholarly mind, and his selection of books for his library was of substantial value, though he also kept in touch with current pamphlets and periodicals. Some of the volumes of his collection, containing his book plate, are now at "Mount Clare."

Charles Carroll, Barrister, had wide interests and sympathies. Not only was he one of a group contributing funds so that Charles Willson Peale might go to England to study, but he gave personal interest and effort towards his development and advancement. In the advice he gave the young painter regarding selection of a particular branch of his profession, he concludes with kindliness and consideration: "But after all Consult and be guided by the best of your own Genius and Study the Branch to which your disposition Leads you and that you Judge most suitable to your Talents. You had better be a Good Painter in Miniature than an Indifferent one in Either of the other Branches and be Assured that what I have above wrote and mentioned Proceeds from my Desire of your Welfare."

Social as well as political life was full at "Mount Clare." Washington, Lafayette, and many of the notables of the day were visitors there. A letter of Lafayette is among the documents at Mount Clare and a recent gift has brought to the house one of the first Washington clocks on which the inscription reads "First in War, First in Peace, and First in his Countrymen's Hearts."

A still more recent bequest has brought other lovely things to the place, and so the beauty and the interest of "Mount Clare" go on, and the life and color of the period becomes very real and vivid as personalities and possessions stand out to tell their story.

JOHN SHAW, CABINETMAKER OF ANNAPOLIS

By LOUISE E. MAGRUDER

John Shaw, cabinetmaker of Annapolis, was introduced to me by telegram in the winter of 1930: "Please locate, read, and report fully anything of business interest in will of John Shaw, Annapolis, cabinetmaker, dying probably either in 1806 or twenty eight; also list tools or stock given on inventory; want deeds for shop on Church Street or elsewhere."

When the will was located in the office of the Anne Arundel County Register of Wills at the Annapolis Courthouse it was found that it had been made in September, 1826, and probated on 9 March 1829; and that it contained the sentence: "I give to my son George Shaw my mahogany bookcase which was made many years ago by myself." The inventory, account and account of sales were disappointing because they added little to the knowledge of his possessions; but the will is worth quoting at length:

I John Shaw of the City of Annapolis in the State of Maryland being in health of body and of sound and disposing mind, [etc.]

Item, I give and devise unto my son James Shaw and his heirs and assigns forever, all that Lot and parcel of ground with the buildings thereon lying on Doctor Street in the City of Annapolis and running forty one feet from Jacob H. Slemaker's House to the Courthouse fence then at right angles Seventy Seven feet until it intersects Temple Street then forty one feet with Temple Street then to the beginning on Doctor Street.

Item, I give and devise to my five children Mary Shaw, Elizabeth Franklin, Thomas Shaw, James Shaw and George Shaw and their heirs and assigns forever as Tenants in common and not as joint tenants all the rest and residue of my Real estate lying and being in the City of Annapolis or elsewhere. And it is my wish and desire that the house in which I now reside may not be sold out of the family, but that my son George Shaw occupy the same and that my said son George Shaw pay to my other children a reasonable rent for the same annually. It is also my wish and desire that my son George Shaw should have the use of the

Store House he now occupies together with the warehouse and book binders room attached to the same as long as he may think proper and that he pay a rent of one hundred dollars annually to my other children for the same.

Item, I give unto my daughter Mary Shaw my negress Deborah Tootell and her child Ann also the Bedstead and bedding complete and all the furniture generally used in her room.

Item, I give unto my daughter Elizabeth Franklin my negress Kitty Carroll.

Item, I give to my son Thomas Shaw my negro John said son Thomas to take possession of said negro immediately after my death, so that he should not be permitted to remain with the family or in Annapolis.

Item, I give unto my son George Shaw my negro James.

Item, I give unto my grandson John Franklin my negro Henry.

Item, I give to my son George Shaw my mahogany bookcase which was made many years ago by myself provided he gives in exchange to my Son in law Thomas Franklin the Bookcase now used by the said George and now in his possession.

Item, I give and bequeath to my five children before named all the rest and residue of my personal estate to be equally divided between them. And Lastly I do constitute and hereby appoint my sons Thomas Shaw, James Shaw and George Shaw executors of this my last will and Testament. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this 18th. day of September in the year of Our Lord 1826.

JOHN SHAW (seal)

Witnesses: Jonas Green, Jona. Weedon, Louis Gassaway.

On January 7, 1829, son-in-law Thomas Franklin was added to the executors named above in codicil and signed with his mark. The will was probated 9 March 1829, and on 17 March 1829 the executors, James Shaw, George Shaw and Thomas Franklin came to swear to the will. 12 March 1829 Thomas Shaw, of Frederick County, Maryland, refused to act as executor.¹

Shaw's obituary in the *Maryland Gazette*, March 5, 1829, is very interesting. It runs as follows:

COMMUNICATED—Departed this life on the morning of Thursday the 26th. ult. Mr. John Shaw, in the 83rd. year of his age. In noting the demise of this gentleman, justice to his memory requires that we should say something more of him than that he has finished his course upon earth. There were points in his character, which received the earnest approbation of good men while he lived, and which, though we shall

¹ Wills 40, folio 23-27, Register of Wills, Annapolis Courthouse.

barely mention the most prominent of them, deserve to be remembered and imitated, now he has disappeared from among us.

Mr. Shaw was not only one of the oldest and most respectable inhabitants of this city, but, until disqualified for active life by age, and its concomitant infirmities, was one of the most useful of them. In the gallant and arduous struggle for our independence, he espoused the cause of freedom, and filled the then truly responsible and difficult station of armorer to the state. In that office he acquitted himself completely to the satisfaction of the public as was shewn by his having been continued in it many years after that struggle had successfully terminated. He was gifted by nature with strength, as well as fortitude of mind, and possessed a degree of self control which rarely permitted the calmness of temper, for which he was remarkable, to be disturbed. Thus happily constituted he pursued his way, content in the conscious rectitude of his heart, and the just aim of his actions. Notwithstanding his earthly existence had been protracted, by Divine Providence, to a term beyond that allotted to most men, his whole conduct remained free from reproach, and he descended into the grave, survived by a fair and unblemished reputation, and in peace with the human family. He was not afraid to die! A life characterised by industry, temperance, strict integrity and punctual attention, to religious duty had stripped death of its terrors, and prepared him for that awful event. To conclude—he was a good man, who lived sincerely beloved by his family and deservedly esteemed by his fellow citizens and has, we trust, passed from this world of care, to partake of the joys promised to the righteous.

The publication of the information about the bookcase precipitated me into the controversy that was taking place between New York and Philadelphia "authorities" as to whether John Shaw was, really, a cabinetmaker or just a seller and importer of furniture. Being bewildered by the technical discussions that followed, I decided to go into the question from the angle I could understand, by putting together public records made at the time in Annapolis which are still available.

The tombstone in the family lot at St. Anne's Cemetery on Northwest Street, Annapolis is still in good condition. The inscription thereon reads: "Here Lie the Remains of Mr. John Shaw who was born in the City of Glasgow on the 25th. of April O. S. 1745 and died in the city of Annapolis on 26th. January 1829 In the 84th. year of his age." This lets us know he was about twenty five years old when we find in Judgments 62, DD # 18, 1771 to 1772, folio 430, at the Hall of Records, Annapolis, the convincing item: "26 April 1770 John Shaw, cabinet maker against Thomas Sparrow, struck off, defendant paying the cost."

The word cabinetmaker clearly separates this John Shaw from that other John Shaw, Surgeon, Living on Lot 102 on East Street between King George and Prince George Streets whose wife, born Ruth Worthington, administered on his estate in 1775.

On 23 February 1773 the *Maryland Gazette* printed an advertisement: "Joshua Collins musical instrument Maker and Tuner from Manchester begs leave to acquaint the Public, that he has commenced the said branches of business, at Messrs. SHAW AND CHISHOLM's Cabinet Shop;" and on 27 May 1773: "Just Imported from London, and to be sold by Shaw and Chisholm, Cabinet and Chairmakers, in Church Street, near the dock, a neat and general assortment of Joiners and Cabinet makers tools."

It is probable that John Shaw lived over his shop on "Church Street near the dock" for some years. On 24 May 1784 David Long, planter, of Queen Anne's County, Maryland, sold to

JOHN SHAW, Cabinetmaker of the City of Annapolis for £510 current money Lott 73 in Annapolis begin[ning] 100 feet from place where a stake formerly stood in Church Street being the end of the first course of the lot as expressed in deeds of conveyance made by George Johnson to Sewell Long in August 1751 and being also the beginning of the 2nd course of the said lot and the aforesaid beginning of the part now sold being the place from whence a division fence begins and runs across the said lot to the Stadthouse Circle running thence the aforesaid 2nd course of the lott bounding on Church Street until it reaches the Lott now occupied by Mary Johnson the distance of 105½ feet then north 26 degrees east 105 feet to the Stadt house Circle then by and with said Circle until intersected by a northern 26 degrees east course running with the division fence aforesaid from the aforesaid beginning of the part now sold together with all Improvements.²

In the *Maryland Gazette*, 26 August 1784, we find:

Archibald Chisholm, To be sold at Public Sale 25 Sept. at the house where the subscriber now lives a variety of household furniture consisting of beds, bedsteads, tables & chairs, a second hand spinnet in good order, a very good handmill; a small collection of valuable books & sundry other articles. At same time will be sold, if not sold before, a neat riding chair & harness & a very elegant new mahogany framed billiard table, with 3 sets of new balls, tacks & cues complete. The sale to begin at 10 o'clock. N. B. I want a healthy boy about 14 or 15 years of age, of a good character, as an apprentice to the cabinet-making business. A. C.

² Anne Arundel County Deeds NH # 2, folio 20, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

Again, in the *Maryland Gazette* for several issues beginning 8 November 1784:

Just Imported & to be sold at the house of JOHN SHAW, opposite the south end of the Stadt-house a great variety of looking glasses, teachests, billiard balls, pictures framed & glazed, maps of North-America, divided according to the preliminary articles, signed at Versailles 20 January 1783, in which are particularly described the boundaries of United States General Atlas describing the whole Universe being a complete & new collection of the most approved maps extant engraved in the best manner on 52 copper plates, corrected with the greatest care and augmented from the latest discoveries down to 1782. SHAW & CHISHOLM.

The firm of Shaw & Chisholm was not dissolved without some difficulties. Chisholm brought suit against John Shaw Cabinet-maker, to recover the sum of £200. He exhibited Shaw's bond dated 26 July 1790 concerning a lot of ground on Cornhill Street leased of Charles Wallace, Esqr.³ There is also on record an indenture dated 25 November 1794 "between Archibald Chisholm of City of Annapolis, cabinetmaker, and John Shaw, of same place, cabinetmaker; Whereas Charles Wallace by indenture of lease 25 June 1770 leased to Thomas Hewitt a lot of ground in Annapolis for 99 years begining at William Corie's lot . . . down Cornhill Street, until it intersects East Street," which Hewitt assigned 2 November 1775 to John Shaw & Archibald Chisholm, said Chisholm for £34/15 sold to said Shaw the premises for the residue of the term.⁴

The services now rendered by morticians were part of the activities of cabinetmakers in earlier times. From Chancery Paper 4357 at the Land Office of Maryland it appears that John Shaw 14 Sept. 1794 furnished a "coffin for a child inside lyned £1/2/, cash paid the sexton 7/62" and Chancery Paper 3620 shows he was in charge 10 April 1795 of a funeral costing £19/12/6. There were "a raised top coffin with black cloth lined and shrouded £12/10, a case for ditto 17/6; use of the pall and hearse £2/5; making a shroud 22/6; paid the sexton 22/6; to making hatbands and superintending funeral £1/5." For the funeral of the relict July, 1811, he furnished "a black coffin with raised top lined and shrouded £4/10, a case for ditto £1/2/6; to use of pall and hearse £2/5; to making hatbands and sending tickets out 15/, total

³ Court Proceedings, Anne Arundel County, 1792.

⁴ Deeds, Anne Arundel County NH # 7, folio 342.

£8/12/6." On 13 October 1800 Thomas Jennings, administrator of Thomas Jennings, Esqr., late of Anne Arundel County deceased, swore to paying "John Shaw on account of funeral expenses."⁵

Various apprentices were bound to Shaw:

15 August 1798. Washington Tuck 17 years old 22 March 1798 is bound to John Shaw to be taught trade of a cabinet maker & joiner [Shaw agrees] to find him in sufficient meat, drink, washing, lodging & cloathing & to cause him to be taught reading, writing & arithmetic as far as the rule of three & at the expiration of his servitude to pay him his freedom dues agreeably to Act of Assembly;⁶

19 May 1800. Henry Lusby 17 years old July 1800 his mother present in Court is bound to John Shaw to learn the trade of cabinet maker;⁷

9 April 1806. This Indenture witnesseth that Jonathan Weedon son of the late Richard Weedon hath put himself, with the consent of his uncle & guardian Richard Weedon, Jr., voluntarily & of his free will & accord apprentice to John Shaw cabinetmaker, carpenter & joiner in the City of Annapolis from this date for 6 years 5 months 20 days and until he arrives at 21 years which will happen on 22 September 1811.⁸

It will be remembered that Jonathan Weedon was one of the witnesses to the will of John Shaw on 18 September 1826.

Of course there are many records which show John Shaw engaging in all sorts of activities. These records quoted are to show that Shaw was a cabinetmaker, not just a business man. If further evidence is needed, here is Shaw's letter to General Smallwood:

June 24th, 1789.
Annapolis,

Sir

The Chairs you sent to be repair^d had been done ever since the second week after they came here. I saw Lazar the packet man Some time ago who promised to call for them the first time he was going to Potowmack but he has not don it yet—Your sideboard table is done all but the top, for which I have sent to philadelphia for the Best peice of mahogany that can be got to make it of—I shall be glad you would send to the glass man about the bottles as I expect to finish the table very soon I shall esteem it as a particular favour if [you] will be so kind as to send up the ballance of your Accompt as I am very much distressed for want of cash at present I am Sir your Excelenceys most obed^t & much oblig^d Humbl^e Serv^t

John Shaw⁹

⁵ Administration Accounts 89, 1797-1802, Folio 350, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

⁶ Proceedings Court 1797-1805. Orphans Court, Anne Arundel County, folio 31.

⁷ *Ibid.*, folio 92.

⁸ A. A. Co., Index to Record of Receipts, 1896-20, JG 2, folio 197.

⁹ Chancery Papers 1819, Land Office, Annapolis.

RESIDENTS OF BALTIMORE BEFORE 1776

In the absence of a census prior to that of 1775 when an official count of the inhabitants of Baltimore was made, lists of names of residents between the founding of the town in 1730 and the years of the American Revolution are of obvious value.¹ The subscription lists which follow, while not complete enumerations, supply probably the best available directory of early Baltimoreans. They are from the collections of the Maryland Historical Society.

Of special interest to many, perhaps, are the purposes for which the lists were made. Let the imagination have full reign in considering conditions prevalent here nearly two hundred years ago and remember that the village of that day centered, as does the city of today, around the Basin at Light and Calvert Streets.

I. *A. Subscription List Bearing Original Signatures, 1748*²

Maryland Baltimore Town January 28th 1748

Whereas there is an Act of Assembly which prohibits all the Inhabitants of Baltimore Town from Keeping, or Raising Hogs or Geese in the said Town. We the Subscribers do hereby agree & oblige ourselves to pay to the Clerk of the Town the Sums affixed against our Respective Names towards keeping up, repairing, and making Good the Fence of the said Town and supporting a Person to keep it in good Order.

Robt. North Gives 10	£0:10:-	R. Chase	10 -
Darby Lux	10 -	Brian Philpot Jun ^r	0.10.0
Wm. Rogers	10 -	Nicholas Rogers	0.10
Thos. Chase	10 -	John Ensor Jr.	0: 5:0
Wil: Lyon	10 -	John Shephard	0. 5.

¹ Of the 1775 lists only one original is known to have survived, that for Deptford Hundred (Fells Point) which is owned by the Society. It was published in this Magazine XXV (1930) p. 271-275. The total population of Town and Point was 6,755.

² This list has appeared in J. T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (1874) but with a few errors. For convenience a correct version is here given. The same comment applies to the 1751 list.

Abram -- amer [?]	0- 2-6	James Perkins re [?]	- 5.-
Hannah Hughes	0.10-	Wm. Ferguson	0- 5-0
Joseph England	0- 5-0	Vitus [?] Hartung	0- 5-0
John Feasher [?]	0- 5-0	[On verso]	
Henry Johnson	0: 2:6	Chris ^t Cylmire	0: 5:-

B. Attached to the Foregoing Is a Separate Sheet Bearing Original Signatures, Endorsed "Subscription Paper," 1748

I will give towards finishing fencing the town

	£	s	d			
Darby Lux	1	-	-	W. Hammond	1	-
W ^m . Rogers	1	-	-	Edmond Dogan		10.0

C. One of Two Identical Lists in a Clerical Hand, Endorsed 1748

We whose names are underwritten hereby give towards finishing the Fencing of Baltimore Town the several sums affixed against each of our Respective Names Vizt.

Dr. George Buchanan	£0.10 -	Mr. Edmd Dogan	0.10.-
Capt. Darby Lux	1. 0.0	Mr. Thomas Harrison	1. 0.0
Mr. Will ^m Rogers	1. 0.0	Capt. Charles Ridgely	0.10.-
Coll. Will ^m Hammond			
	pd. 1. 0.0		

*II. Subscription Lists Bearing Original Signatures, Endorsed:
"Subscription for Town Hall and Market House
in Baltimore 1751"*

WHEREAS Severall Acts of Assembly have been made for the Enlargement and Encouragement of Baltimore Town And forasmuch as the said Town Increases as well in Inhabitants as good Buildings and Trade, and the Scituation thereof renders it convenient for Navigation and Trade as well with the Inhabitants of Baltimore and Ann Arundell Countys, as the Back Settlements of this Province and Pensylvania. But no Provision hath yet been made by Law or otherways for Purchasing a Lott or Lotts, whereon to Build a Market House, Town House and other Necessary Buildings for the Benefitt of said Town, and conveniency of such Persons as bring their Butchers Meat and other Commodities to Sell at Market in the said Town—

WHEREFORE for the further Encouragement and Improvement of Baltimore Town We whose Names are hereunto Subscribed do hereby Promise and Oblige ourselves our Executors and Administrators to Pay to the Commissioners of Baltimore Town or their Order the Severall Sum or Sums of Money to each of our Names affixed to be applied to the Purchasing a Lott or Lotts in said Town, and Building thereon a Market

House and Town Hall in such manner as the Commissioners of said Town shall direct and appoint, Provided the said Lott or Lotts shall be Purchased, and the Building began within Two Years from the date hereof.

WITNESS our Hands and Seals the Twenty third Day of April. 1751.

T. Sheridine ten pounds	10.0.0	Wil: Lyon Five pounds Sterl	5 -- Sterl
W. Hammond five pounds	5.0.0	Thos Sligh	10 -- Ster
Thomas Harrison fifteen pounds	15.0.0	Tho ^a Chase five pounds	5 Curt ^t
Alexander Lawson ten pounds		John Rendell	5.0.0 Ster
Sterlg	10. -- -- Ster	L[loy]d Buchanan five pds Cur	5 --
Brian Philpot Jun ^r ten pounds		Will ^m Lux Five Pounds Sterl	5 -- St
Sterlg	10. -- -- Ster	N. Ruxton Gay five pounds Cur	5 --
Wm. Rogers	10 Cur		

III. *Residents in 1752 Taken From Printed List Signed "J. T.," Probably Published 1852.^a*

The following list of families, and other persons residing in the town of Baltimore, was taken in the year 1752, by a lady of respectability, and who was well acquainted with the place at the time.

Captain Lucas,	John Moore,
William Rogers,	Mr. Sheppard, (Tailor,)
Nicholas Rogers,	Bill Adams, (barber, the only
Dr. William Lyon,	one,)
Thomas Harrison,	George Strebeck, (drove a single
Alexander Lawson,	team of horses, only wagon,)
Bryan Philpot,	Jacob Keeports, (Carpenter,)
Nicholas Ruxton Gay,	Conrad Smith,
James Carey, (Inn-keeper,)	Captain Dunlap,
Parson Chase,	John Crosby, (Carpenter,)
Mr. Pain,	Robert Lance, (Cooper,)
Christopher Carnan,	Philip Littig, his wife was mid-

^a Following the names in this list "J. T." supplied miscellaneous information of considerable interest. For instance, "The Governor and Council lived east of Jones' Falls on Jones Street." This was evidently in 1757, the only occasion when Baltimore was the seat of the colonial government. Driven from Annapolis by an epidemic of smallpox, the Assembly met in Baltimore, according to the editor of the *Archives of Maryland* Vol. LV (1938) p. xiii, on April 8 of that year, and remained through May 9. "J. T." continues: "The General Assembly sat in William Rogers' house, Inn-keeper." He also tells us that the first female child born in Baltimore arrived in 1741; that the inhabitants in 1756 were "supposed not to exceed 300"; and that Colonel John Eager Howard was born in the year 1752.

wife among the German women	Mr. Goldsmith, John Ward,
Mrs. Hughes, only midwife a- mong the English Families.	Kilt Stramwich, [?] (Labourer,)
Charles Constable,	Nancy L[o]w,
Mr. Ferguson,	Mr. Gwinn.

The well known aquatint engraving of Baltimore in 1752, published in 1817 by Edward J. Coale, is based on the original pencil drawing taken on the spot in 1752 by John Moale, and now owned by the Society. The key of the engraving lists the names of only five persons. Below the picture are the names of Messrs. Moale and Daniel Bowly, who, with his memory, seems to have assisted some one, probably Benjamin Tanner, in locating sites and arranging the scene. Those named in the key are Capt. Lux, the two Rogers, Kaminesky, tavern keeper, and Ward "the Barber." Conflicting memories doubtless account for the discrepancies between the two 1752 lists.

IV. *Partial List of Inhabitants, 1768.*⁴

Baltimore in 1768.

A List of persons Inhabitants of Balto. Town who are desired to Send Labourers to mend and repair the Streets in said Town, 1768.

Persons Names.	
1st.	Rev. Tho ^s Chace,
Mr. John Moale,	Jn ^o Beal Bordley, Esq ^r
Capt. Alexd ^r Stewart,	Benj ^a Rodgers, Esq ^r
Dr. Jn ^o Stevenson,	Capt. Jn ^o Ad ⁿ Smith,
N. Ruxston Gay, Esq ^r	Mr Chissely,
Robt Alexander, Esq ^r	Mr Ja ^s Calwell,
Mr. And ^r Buchanan,	Mr W ^m Lux,
Mr Jn ^o Ashburner,	Mr Darby Lux,
Mr Jo ^s Burges,	Mr Alexd ^r Lawson,
Mr Hart, Saddler,	Mr W ^m Payne,
Mr David Rusk,	Mr Jn ^o Mercer,
Mr Jn ^o McClellan,	
Mr Conrad Conrad,	3d.
	Mr W ^m Smith,
2d.	Mr Jn ^o Merryman,
Mr John Ridgely,	Mr Jon ^a Plowman,
	Mr Tho ^s Jones,
	Mr Nich ^l Jones,

⁴ From the William H. Corner Collection. The divisions in the list, headed by numerals from 1 to 10, apparently refer to wards.

Mr Tho^s Harrison,
 Mr Isaac Grist,
 Mr Rob^t Adair,
 Mr Arch^d Buchanan,
 Dr Alex^r Stenhouse,
 Mr Mark Alexander,
 Mr Rob^t Purvance,
 Mr W^m Spear,

4th.

Mrs Lux,
 Mrs Rodgers,
 Mrs Gough,
 Mrs Orrick,
 Mrs Philpott,
 Mr W^m Moore, Sen^r
 Mr W^m Moore, Jun^r
 Mr Nich^s Hasselbach,
 Mr John Hawn,
 Mr W^m Adams,
 Mr Ge^o Lindingberger,
 Mr Alex^r Leeth,

5th

Mr W^m Barney,
 Mr Wimb^t Jada,
 Mr Henry Brown,
 Mr Jn^o McLure,
 Mr David McLure,
 Mr Herc: Courteny,
 Mr Fred^r Thomas,

6th

Doct^r H: Stevenson,
 Doct^r Jn^o Boyd,
 Mr Rich^d Rodgers,
 Mr Balse Mayre
 Mr Frd Mayre,
 Mr Ja^s Sterrett
 Mr D: McClellan,
 Mr Jn^o Smith
 Mr W^m Gilbraith,
 Mr Jn^o Hadding
 Dr John Dodge,
 Capt. W^m Dunlap

7th

Mess^{rs} R & J: Christie
 Mr Ja: Keport

Mr Jn^o Fowl,
 Mr Conrad Smith,
 Mr Jn^o Stover,
 Mr Wisbie
 Dr Cha^s Weisen[t]hall
 Dr Cha^s Clews [Clows?]
 Mr Mal^r Keener,
 Cap^t Patton,
 Mess^{rs} Shields & Matteson
 Mr Felⁿ Oneal

8th.

Mr Tho^s Worthington
 Mr Rich^d Moale
 Capt. Cha^s Ridgley,
 Mr Jn^o Hart
 Mr W^m Daves
 Mr Nathⁿ Griffith
 Mr Alexⁿ McMehan [?]
 Mr W^m Labley
 Mr Simⁿ Vashoon
 Mrs Brown
 Mr Jer^d Hopkins
 Mr Benjⁿ Griffith

9th

Mr Morris Whistler
 Mr Sam: Mercer Smith
 Mr Adam Brant
 Mr Geo: Lebley
 Mr Letsinger
 Mr John Rock
 Mr Christⁿ Deel
 Mr Christⁿ Apple
 Mr Jn^o Srim
 Mr Jn^o Stoler
 Mr Geo: Streepack
 Capt. Geo: Rose

10th

Dan^l Chamier Esq^r
 Mr Henry James
 Mr Jn^o Moore
 Anthony Frenchman
 Fred^r Kees
 Henry Rock
 Phillip Leddick
 David Linn

INDIAN STONE PILES IN MARYLAND

By C. A. WESLAGER

Professor Frank G. Speck has recently called attention to an Indian brush heap located in Delaware which was supposedly a memorial marker used to commemorate the death of one of the members of a local tribe, and he cites other occurrences of similar heaps. He writes:

Historians and ethnologists treating the Indian customs of the New England and Middle Atlantic States have seldom failed to find in some localities the remains of heaps of accumulated material placed at the side of a trail or pathway where those who pass by throw something on the pile, until in the course of time it assumes the proportions of a small monument commemorating some legendary occurrence.¹

The moving forces of civilization in the East have resulted in the destruction of almost all of the native handiwork except that of a sub-surface character, with the result that the so-called memorial heaps are extremely rare. In the West, however, many such heaps, made of stone, brush, and other materials—have escaped destruction, and from time to time they are observed by qualified persons and properly recorded. For example, one writer has recently called attention to four heaps of boulders along the trail leading from the Hopi Indian village of Hano, and 19 separate stone piles along the Hopi trail from California to Arizona, to say nothing of 15 similar stone heaps recorded on the Lower California desert.²

¹ Frank G. Speck, "The Memorial Brush Heap in Delaware and Elsewhere," *Bulletin*, Archaeological Society of Delaware, IV, No. 2 (May 1945) pp. 17-23.

Speck's essay also prompted another student to report on memorial heaps in New England, Eva L. Butler, "The Brush or Stone Memorial Heaps of Southern New England," *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut*, No. 19, April 1946, pp. 3-12. The author enumerates 26 stone heaps recorded in the New England area; cites an excellent bibliography, and concludes that "The scarcity of these data makes it difficult to give a definite interpretation of the custom at present, but it is expected that the recent notice which the heaps have received will lead to the collection and interpretation of more information which will eventually bring about a solution to the riddle."

² Arthur Woodward, "Good Luck Shrines of the Desert," *The Desert Magazine*, IV, No. 3 (Jan. 1941) pp. 22-23.

Some of these piles of stones are apparently dedicated to Masauu, a Hopi deity, whereas others serve as common shrines on which the passing Indian relies for aid or guidance. Among the Huichol Indians in the mountains of north central Mexico, heaps of small stones are found beside the trails and in the villages, which, if properly propitiated, are supposed to attract rain clouds to the vicinity. The stones are also supposed to protect fields, springs, domestic animals and household goods. It is important that the traveller, in order to obtain a true blessing, is supposed to deposit an offering on the stone pile and breathe a prayer for good fortune in his venture. The offering usually consists of another stone which he adds to the pile, a twig, a potsherd, or similar materials.³

Another writer states that rock piles are found commonly throughout the area from the Rio Grande to the Pacific. The Navajo use the term "*tsenadjibih*" when speaking of the piles. The name means "picking up and putting on stones." The piles are said to vary in size from three to five feet high and in most cases are along old trails.⁴

A writer on the religion of the Pueblo Indians also calls attention to the stone piles: "On many a mesa pass such a pile of stones may be seen, made, it has been generally said, to get rid of fatigue or ailment."⁵

Still another observer of Acoma Indian customs writes of the rock piles from 12 inches to 2½ feet in height, adding that "When one puts a rock on one of these columns he first holds it up, spits on it, and then lays it down so no bad luck will happen."⁶ Spitting, needless to say, has a deeper meaning among the Indians than it does among modern white people, the act being symbolical of self-cleansing.

³ *Ibid.* The Navajo Indians often place a green spray among the rocks on one of the piles as a "good luck" offering. Apparently, the Indian gods are satisfied with very humble offerings.

⁴ Richard F. Van Valkenburgh, "Sacred Places and Shrines of the Navajos," *Plateau*, V., 13, No. 1 (July 1940) pp. 6-9.

⁵ Elsie Clews Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1939 2 Vols.). See p. 460.

⁶ Leslie A. White, "The Acoma Indians," *47th Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology (Wash. D. C., 1929-1930) pp. 23-198. *Bulletin* 30 of the Bureau of Ethnology also contains reference to stone piles under the subject of "Shrines"; see Part 2, p. 559. The writer is indebted to the library staff at Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass. for assistance on his recent visit in locating references to stone piles.

Many other references could be cited, but these few quoted above serve to illustrate the distribution and general use of the western rock piles. Turning our attention to the East, and specifically the State of Maryland, a very significant reference to similar stone piles has been found in the old documents by William B. Marye. In 1930 Marye wrote a stimulating essay on interesting place names in two counties of Maryland.⁷ In this essay, he called attention to a former tract of land, called "Heathcoats Cottage" whose beginning point was at "three heaps of stones called the Indian Graves," and he quoted a deposition made in 1814 by John B. Ford which confirmed their location. In fact, the heaps of stones represented a coterminous point on the tracts called "Heathcoat's Cottage," "Clarkson's Hope," "Gassaway's Ridge," and "Francis's Freedom" (otherwise called "Young's Escape") and for this reason the stones served as a marker.

Marye has kindly furnished me with an earlier deposition which is of importance in giving us reason to identify the heaps as being of Indian origin. The deposition follows:

28 December 1769 Moses Greer aged 54 years or thereabouts doth depose and say that between thirty and forty years ago he was frequently informed by his father John Greer that the place where we now are being at three heaps or Piles of stones which stand nearly in a triangle and near to a run commonly called the broad run and on the north or north east side of the said run and near an old path formerly known by the name of Cox's Road which said three heaps or piles of stones are known by the name of the Indian Graves was the place where a tract or parcell of land called Heathcoats Cottage began or formerly had its beginning and further this deponent saith not.⁸

Marye has also kindly given me copies of three other depositions which serve the purpose of definitely locating the site of the three stone heaps, and which confirm that Indian cabins stood nearby. Because of their length, these depositions are not being included, but they may be consulted by interested persons.⁹

⁷ W. B. Marye, "The Place-Names of Baltimore and Harford Counties," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXV, (Dec. 1930) pp. 321-365. See p. 350 for section on "Broad Run and the Indian Graves."

⁸ Taken from *Baltimore County Deeds*, Liber A. L. No. B, folios 304-314: Colonel William Young's land commission to prove the bounds of "Sewall's Fancy."

⁹ The first of these dated 1732 is found in *Baltimore County Court Proceedings*, Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 2 folio 144: John Baldwin and William Rumsey's Land Commission to determine the bounds of "Heathcoat's Cottage."

The second occurs in 1782 in *Baltimore County Deeds*, Liber W. G. No. L,

There is little question from a study of these several documents that the Indian stone heaps formerly stood on Broad Run, Eleventh District, Baltimore County, in the forks between the Great and Little Falls of Gunpowder River, about three miles and a half above the head of tidewater on the river proper, and about a quarter of a mile west of the road between Kingsville and Fork. The stone heaps have, of course, long since disappeared, but there can be no reason to question that they were, indeed, typical of the stone memorial heaps erected by the early natives.

While the writer has not yet located any descriptions by early explorers pertaining to stone heaps specifically located within the State of Maryland, the comments of John Lawson about the Carolina Indians are of pertinence. He wrote: ¹⁰

They have other Sorts of Tombs, as where an Indian is slain, in that very place they make a Heap of Stones (or Sticks where stones are not to be found); to this memorial every Indian that passes by adds a stone, to augment the Heap, in Respect to the deceased Hero.

Further in his narrative, Lawson writes as follows:

This day we met with seven heaps of stones, being the Monuments of seven Indians that were slain in that place by the Sinnagers [Seneca] or Iroquois. Our Indian Guide added a stone to each heap.¹¹

Perhaps this reference to southern Indian custom, added to our information relating to the brush heap in Delaware, would allow us to speculate that the three stone piles in Maryland—known also as Indian graves—may have marked the site where three Indians were slain. Moreover, since the stone piles were alongside an old trail, we might also be safe in surmising that passing Indians added stones to it from time to time as was custom among their tribe.

folio 455 *et seq.* The third, made the same year, is found in the Depositions on "Nangemey" and "Sewell's Fancy," Baltimore County Deeds, Liber W. G. No. L, folio 455 *et seq.*

¹⁰ John Lawson, *The History of Carolina, etc.* (London, 1718) p. 22.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 44. In this connection the quotation from John Smith is pertinent (*Works of Captain John Smith*, Bradley & Arber edition, Edinburgh, 1910, I, 76). He wrote that the Indians dared not go up the river where burial houses were located, "but that they solemnly cast some peece of copper, white beads, or Pocones into the river, for fear their Oke should be offended and revenged on them."

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins. By JOHN C. FRENCH. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1946. 492 pp. \$4.75.

Forty-five years ago, the presidents of the leading American universities and other well known educators from this country, Canada and Great Britain met in Baltimore to participate in a program marking the retirement of Daniel C. Gilman as first president of the Johns Hopkins University and the inauguration of his successor, Ira Remsen. I was one of the alumni who had the good fortune to attend those exercises held on February 22nd, 1902.

We heard one outstanding university president after another congratulate Dr. Gilman and the Johns Hopkins University upon having planned and executed one of the most forward steps in the history of education. Each speaker hastened to bear witness to the fact that Johns Hopkins University was the pioneer in graduate studies in this country and that its creative policies had started in a big way a new era in research activities.

A highly dramatic incident occurred during these exercises when Woodrow Wilson, as an alumnus of Johns Hopkins, delivered an eloquent speech of about ten minutes in eulogy of Dr. Gilman's work. The day, ten years later, that Woodrow Wilson was nominated in Baltimore by the Democratic Party as its candidate for President of the United States, I heard one of his most enthusiastic backers say that he was supporting Woodrow Wilson for the Presidency because of that speech.

Not in a speech of a few paragraphs, but in a book of 492 pages, has John C. French written a history of Johns Hopkins University—and he has needed every one of these pages for his portrayal. In it he has set forth a record of achievement unsurpassed in education. He has covered a tremendous amount of ground because he has succeeded in discussing within the compass of one book only, practically all of the many outstanding activities and accomplishments of Johns Hopkins University.

Naturally Dr. French had not the space available to cover in a sense of particularity the history of any special department of the university. He does, however, by sure and brilliant touches show the place of each in the composite picture. This is illustrated by the Medical School, the history of which Dr. Alan Chesney, Dean of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, is now writing.

Dr. French gives a vivid picture of the objectives of Johns Hopkins, of the characteristics and foresight of the first trustees, and of Gilman's vision and efforts to create not another educational institution of an

existing pattern but one of a type totally unknown in this country. He illustrates Gilman's genius in selection of men. Step by step we see the unfolding of a big university, new in design and efficient in operation.

One of the many interesting features of the book is the stress laid upon the contrast in personalities of the five men who have been the presidents of the University since its inception. The invaluable but widely different contributions made by each president, Gilman, Remsen, Goodnow, Ames and Bowman are forcibly presented. He demonstrates how Gilman and his successors have been able to secure effective team work in research without the sacrifice of any of its essential elements of individuality.

The record of what President Bowman has done is of course far from completion. The fact that he has been highly successful as president of Johns Hopkins is a matter of general knowledge. It is not so well known, however, that his personal services to the United States Government have been of great continuing value.

In countless ways Johns Hopkins University since its opening in 1876 has accomplished results momentous and epoch-making. Even if such had not been the case, Johns Hopkins during the recent war would have justified fully its existence and the widespread confidence it enjoys. Under the far-seeing and resourceful leadership of Isaiah Bowman, Johns Hopkins has made many invaluable contributions to our war program. Also President Bowman personally has handled many matters of primary importance for the United States Government. He has been a very close and invaluable advisor to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, to Secretaries Hull and Brynes and to other high officials of the Government. His work in helping to create the concept of and to shape the structure of the charter of the United Nations was indispensable.

The book touches upon some of the many helpful services which Johns Hopkins has rendered the City of Baltimore and the State of Maryland.

The index is excellent. The table of contents has been carefully prepared and is entirely adequate. The chapter titles of the book suggest how comprehensive, systematic and progressive is the treatment of the subject matter. These are: The Shaping of the Baltimore Experiment; The Winning of the Community; Growth and Transition, Homewood as a New Outlook; Growth and Expansion; Aspects of Students' Affairs; The Color of University Life; Academic Epilogues. The appendix, consisting of salient documents, is not long, but shows careful discrimination in selection.

Dr. French has been connected with the Johns Hopkins University, as a student, teacher and librarian for over fifty years. He writes in a graphic and illuminating style. He is a painstaking and accurate chronicler. His interpretations and occasional prophecies carry conviction. He marshals facts so that they tell accurately and in a convincing manner a story of purpose and achievement. He displays a comprehensive knowledge and a thoroughly competent sense of relative values and of proportions. His book is always in focus.

The result is a fine piece of workmanship, constructed by a scholarly man who has both intimate knowledge of and affection for the subject of his labors. Dr. French has done a well-rounded, highly satisfactory job.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE

Zachary Taylor. By BRAINERD DYER. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946: viii, 455 pp. \$4.00.

For almost a hundred years after his death, Zachary Taylor's life remained unwritten. Beyond General O. O. Howard's military biography, published in 1892, there existed literally no reliable study of Taylor's place in American history. He remained one of the vague figures of his curiously vague period.

But since 1941 three scholarly biographies of Taylor have appeared, between them casting a superfluity of light on the man and his times. Mr. Dyer's is the latest of these. In consequence it lacks both timeliness and the importance to be derived from the satisfaction of a genuine need. This circumstance, however, is less Mr. Dyer's fault than that of American scholars in general, who have never succeeded in establishing a clearing house for work in progress. In itself Mr. Dyer's *Zachary Taylor* is excellent.

Its fundamental and pervading merit results in Mr. Dyer's capture of his readers' confidence. One soon becomes convinced that his Taylor is the genuine historical figure and is in no part the creature of a biographer prone to overestimate the importance of his own research or the qualities of his subject. And the book is not overwritten in an effort to inject "color"; the plain facts are lively enough for Mr. Dyer. These elements of balance and maturity are too often absent from American historical writing. Mr. Dyer has them in unusual sufficiency.

The Zachary Taylor so portrayed is a man of considerable appeal. He was born to a substantial Virginia family in 1784, but grew up on the Kentucky frontier where his father had received land as a Revolutionary veteran's bonus. His education, typical of the time and place, was rudimentary. All his life he was troubled by ignorance of spelling and grammar, but he retained the frontiersman's vigor of phrase which education often destroys—"If the enemy oppose my march, in whatever force, I shall fight him."

In his early twenties Taylor entered the army, where he remained, save for a short interval, for forty years. A great part of his biography, therefore, is necessarily concerned with the tedious details of garrison life, the petty politics, and the anguish over promotions that mark the armies of all centuries and nations. Mr. Dyer manages not to be dull in this part of his work, which evidences his literary skill. He allows his readers to draw their own conclusions about Taylor during the period when his character and career were forming. Taylor seems to have been an able,

though not brilliant, officer, good-hearted, well liked, yet without a profound knowledge of military principles.

In 1810, like many another sensible man before and since, Taylor had married a Maryland girl, Margaret Mackall Smith. Mr. Dyer tells us far too little about her. In Holman Hamilton's *Zachary Taylor* (1941) we learn that she was from Calvert County, a descendant of Cromwell's provincial attorney general.

In all this time there is no hint that Taylor would ever play a part in national politics, of which he knew nothing. But at the beginning of the Mexican War, Major General Taylor's Army of Observation opened fire and thereby launched Taylor's political career. His first major victory, at Resaca de la Palma, made him the hero of a nation eager for self assertion, despite his strategic blunders. His capture of Monterrey increased his stature in the popular mind. At the battle of Buena Vista, unwisely invited by Taylor, he gained new celebrity. With many of his seasoned troops withdrawn by the Administration to Scott's command, he successfully withstood the greatly superior army of Santa Anna, and so achieved the position of an intended martyr who escapes martyrdom by his own efforts. His battlefield orders ("A little more grape, Captain Bragg"; "Double-shot your guns and give 'em hell") became popular legends.

Taylor had thus become exceedingly attractive to the Whig politicians, and they soon hurried him into a world he never understood. While his intentions were transparently patriotic and high-minded, his political ineptitude was almost incredible. Taylor's presidency started off wrong. His choice of a cabinet surprised the country in omitting such outstanding Whigs as Webster, Clay, and Crittenden, though it included as attorney general Reverdy Johnson, the great Maryland advocate. And such as it was, the cabinet received no leadership from Taylor, whose inexperience qualified him only to follow. Nothing Taylor touched seemed to go right: his irascible handling of a French claim led to seriously strained diplomatic relations; while his successful negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Britain brought him national unpopularity because of American hopes of aggrandisement in Central America.

In sum, Taylor's sixteen months in the White House form a pitiable record. The old man did his best to do right, but each effort was somehow frustrated. Still, as Bulwer, the British minister, wrote at his death, "His intentions were always good; his word could always be relied upon; his manners were downright, simple, straightforward." He was a genuine, homespun American.

EDWARD GARFIELD HOWARD

Lost Men of American History. By STEWART H. HOLBROOK. New York: Macmillan, 1946. 370 pp. \$3.50.

Lost Men of American History is a curious mixture of three things. First of all, as indicated by the title, Mr. Holbrook has resurrected dozens of the lesser known figures in American history, like Eli Whitney, Daniel

Shays, Samuel Colt, Horatio Alger, Margaret Sanger, Henry Mencken, and others of various kinds, genius, and character. Running along with the biographies of these is a number of re-examinations of famous historical events, like the Battle of Lexington, the New York draft riots of 1863, and the Battle of Santiago, in which he attempts to recover the facts from the legends that have been built up around the events. And, mixed with both of these things, is a general commentary on the American past which becomes in fact a sketchy general history of the country.

It is difficult to know what to say about such a book. It is certainly very entertaining, and for certain purposes very useful. Yet one hesitates to recommend it to the general public for the basic reason that it is more likely to confuse than to clarify American history. There is a paradox here—the book is ostensibly written for the general public in the laudable effort to dispel some of the generally accepted myths about our history, but on the other hand, it is only the serious student of history who can really profit by it. This comes about because Mr. Holbrook is quite accurate in his biographical material, but much too sweeping in his generalizations about American history in the large. Hence, the historical student will profit by the minutiae while discounting the general, but the general reader will enlarge his misconceptions. In any case, one cannot agree that most of the men and events described by Mr. Holbrook are "lost" or misunderstood. Modern social or cultural histories of the United States, even the better textbooks, take account of the important ones, and no college history course of today would ignore them.

WILBUR H. HUNTER, JR.

Autographs: A Key to Collecting. By MARY A. BENJAMIN. New York: Bowker, 1946. 305 pp. xxxv plates. \$6.00.

Here is a very Bible for autograph collectors, complete with creed and commandments, written by a high-priestess of the cult who, as the daughter of Walter Romeyn Benjamin, dean of American autograph dealers and collectors, was born into the highest tradition of her profession.

Few enthusiasms are more easily understood than the one Miss Benjamin ministers to, for there is no need of esoteric knowledge to stir the imagination of a person holding in his hand a really significant letter of a great man. Here is something "hot"; the flow of the script, the turn of the letters reveal personality as nothing else does. The outsider can therefore concede a large measure of truth to Miss Benjamin's contention that the autograph collector is a useful person who performs invaluable service in preserving our common historical heritage. However, to claim any such distinction for the man who lays out thousands of dollars in assembling sets of signatures of the signers, or (as very recently) pays heavily for a misspelled and trifling letter in the hand of our only living ex-President, brings a sardonic smile to the lips of the uninitiated.

It is not for such as these, of course, that Miss Benjamin is writing.

Her book, though enriched by a wealth of interesting narratives of fraud, forgeries and lucky finds, is primarily a text-book for librarians, dealers and advanced collectors, who will gladly give it their wholly serious consideration. Every detail germane to the subject in hand is gone into with lucid thoroughness. The person who has mastered these complexities will find himself in a strong position to enter the field *par inter pares*. Miss Benjamin constantly enjoins the neophyte to check every step against the experience of a top-flight dealer. In the opinion of at least one seasoned collector, this advice should be taken with reservations. He feels that a willingness to use one's own wits, to learn by one's own mistakes and pay for them, if necessary, is, in the long run, the best approach to collecting, and certainly the most exciting one.

J. G. D. PAUL

Old Quilts. By WILLIAM RUSH DUNTON, JR. [Baltimore] Catonsville: The Author, [1946]. 278 pp. \$4.50.

Dr. Dunton's *Old Quilts* takes up these relics of the past in a specified locality, for with few exceptions the examples are Maryland made and owned. The format of the book makes it easy and convenient to consult and a pleasure to look at; it is particularly nice to have the descriptive text and the reproductions before one at the same time. Divided into seven sections—Introductory, Literature, Album Quilts, Appliquéd Chintz Quilts and Coverlets, Tree of Life and others, Framed Medallions, Plain Quilts—the greater part of the book is filled with detailed descriptions of the hundred-odd quilts illustrated, in half and whole page cuts, from most excellent photographs. One is able to see not only all-over designs and effects but also in many cases the patterns made by the minute stitches of the quilting itself. The period 1842-1852 seems to have been the hey-day of the quilt in Maryland but examples of types dating from the last decade of the 18th century are shown. It is possible to assign approximate dates to them from style, type of stitching, and the various materials used.

First interested in quilts as a measure in occupational therapy, the Doctor in his book allows us to enjoy expressions of his personality and to share his growing pleasure in the objects themselves: their beauty and workmanship, the slant on social history and inventions of the past century contained in them; the development of textile weaving and printing; the local history found concealed in them—and, of course, genealogy.

It goes without saying that the workmanship on the whole is superior in whatever category; design, both overall and in individual sections, is more variable. In the Album quilts, made in separate squares joined together, conventional and naturalistic trends are noticeable. Birds, animals and flowers abound and if the ladies appear somewhat fanciful when confronted with objects from natural history and botany, the fruits, by contrast, are remarkably lifelike.

In Maryland quilts are found such familiar sights as the Washington Monument, Godefroy's Battle Monument, a local bricklayer's home, the monument to a hero of the Mexican War, mementoes of a fire company and, of course, the B. & O. R. R. with engine and coach filled with passengers—the latter protected by window curtains! Emblems of such organizations as the Masons, the Odd Fellows and the Temperance movement can be seen. The borders of the coverlets, like the individual blocks or the great central design of appliqué examples, are studies in themselves and range from the stiff, tight and primitive to free and graceful arrangements of cubes and curves and beautiful running vines.

Many of the more elaborate quilts are presentation pieces—testimonials to popular clergymen or doctors, or to a woman honored by devoted friends. Many quilts were parts of bride's outfits, others were given to youths who celebrated their twenty-first birthday. These latter were presented at "Freedom Parties" (referring to the end of apprenticeship days). The individual makers are too many to be noted individually here but we must point to the group of quilts made by the servants of Mrs. William Wilkins, a semi-invalid, whose designs were made to while away years of illness, and whose productions are now the proud possessions of many descendants. The names of the makers alone are a delight—to the usual Margarets and Marys, Marthas, Mary Annes and Hannahs (and the favorite Maryland *Henrietta Maria*) we can add such now unusual ones as Arianna, Zibiah, Milcah, Kitturah, Achsah, Cassandra, Melissa, and others.

Dr. Dunton's book must be a part of all local libraries and will be of constant use in institutional ones. From the profuse illustrations alone the owner of a quilt can discover whether it is a typical one, an unusual one, or something which is unique.

ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE

NOTE:—The Maryland Historical Society has an interesting quilt collection, among them two remarkably fine appliqué examples. One was made by the midwife when staying at *Riverdale* awaiting the birth of Ella Calvert circa 1840; the other was designed and made by Mrs. Samuel Register whose talent and abilities were in great demand among her friends for such work. The former was the gift of Mrs. William M. Ellicott, the later of Mrs. J. Williams Lord.—A. W. R.

The Story of Commercial Credit Company, 1912-1945. By WILLIAM H. GRIMES. Baltimore: Schneidereith & Sons, 1946. 149 pp.

The story of Commercial Credit Company, modestly termed by the author a "booklet," is a somewhat detailed account of the national contribution in the field of specialized commercial banking made by this Baltimore company, headed by Mr. Alexander E. Duncan, its founder, and a group of distinguished associates.

The difficulties of writing the history of this company's first thirty-three years were quite out of the ordinary for the company not only was a pioneer in its first field (the purchase from manufacturers of their in-

voiced accounts against customers), but continuously grew in analogous fields both by pioneering and by improving on existing plans and procedures. However, Mr. Grimes, who became treasurer of the company in 1914, has been able, through twenty-four chapters, to keep the differing skeins of operations in clear perspective.

The effect of this story on the ordinary reader is to produce real wonderment at the wide flexibility of the services which were created to meet special needs, and the astounding overall growth which this flexibility developed from assets of less than a million dollars in 1912 to approximately two hundred million by the end of 1945.

Even highly successful pioneers are apt to meet with unexpected reverses and the author does not hesitate to point out in detail some of the ventures that promised well at the outset but for one reason or another proved costly. Not only the changing requirements of new forms of credit, but the changing attitude of the general banking fraternity toward innovations which were once frowned upon are ably and interestingly discussed.

The importance of the company's developments and operations in various fields of specialized credit has had a definite influence, both directly and indirectly, on nationwide business procedure, and, therefore, this story of the Commercial Credit Company is a "must" for all students of the history of modern business credits. To Marylanders the publication furnishes authoritative enlightenment as to the history of a locally organized financial institution of nationwide prominence, and that its founder came originally from Kentucky in no wise detracts from the fact that the Commercial Credit Company was born, succored and reared on Maryland soil. The story is well illustrated with photographs and reproductions of early advertisements, and is documented with appropriate data and statistics.

H. FINDLAY FRENCH

Fifty Years of Suretyship and Insurance. The Story of United States Fidelity and Guaranty Company. By CLARK J. FITZPATRICK AND ELLIOTT BUSE. Baltimore: [U. S. F. and G. Co.,] 1946. 198 pp. + index.

Nineteen forty-six was the fiftieth birthday of the United States Fidelity and Guaranty Company of Baltimore, (pleasantly known to all as "the U. S. F. and G."), founded by the late John R. Bland, and in commemoration of that important anniversary Clark J. Fitzpatrick, Secretary of the corporation and Elliott Buse have written the story of the company. The book, handsomely printed but not large, proves again a truth which readers discover anew whenever some one publishes an interesting record of an important business, namely, that the story of industry and business in the United States is full of action and color and that it is, indeed, likely to get closer to the facts of life in America than stories of a good many other things which people are more accustomed

to think of as history material. As a matter of fact it would be an excellent idea if more of such books were written. The hair-raising stories which lie buried in the corporate records of American business surely contain enough steam and inspiration to keep free enterprise booming for another thousand years, certainly enough to put to shame the modern "planners," who want all business operated at the intellectual and spiritual level of a municipal dog-license bureau. But it is difficult to get business history written. Most business literary composition is poured orally into a dictaphone or a stenographer's ears, and comes out scarcely resembling belles lettres. And the real stories are usually kept under lock and key for fear business secrets will be stolen and capitalized by some ruthless competitor. Hence, instead of business, most history deals with wars, assassinations, marriages and politics, and most of its heroes seem to be kings, queens, statesmen and generals. Even in this book the authors quote a contemporary of the founder, Bland—one Edron S. Lott, Chairman of the Board of the United States Casualty Company of New York, who wrote a book called *Pioneers of American Liability Insurance*, in which he said of the famous Baltimorean: "What a General of an Army John R. Bland would have made!"

With the greatest respect, Pish and Tosh! Why worry about what a General of an Army he would have made when we know what a pioneer of corporate suretyship he *did* make? To weep because, instead of pursuing, perhaps, Aguinaldo or Pancho Villa, John R. Bland founded and built up one of the greatest suretyship businesses in the country is to mistake the proper end and purpose of Man, at least in the opinion of this reviewer.

The story of this man who built a great business out of nothing is recommended to those misanthropes who have given too much ear to the notion that there are no more frontiers to conquer in this country and that free enterprise has shot its bolt. The same thing was being said in John R. Bland's time. Patterns of business were fixed, methods approved, conventionalities established, frontiers, presumably pushed back as far as they would go. So Mr. Bland pushed them farther, pioneering in a field where it did not occur to most men that any field existed. But today it is as familiar as any field known to men of business. Surety bonds and casualty policies act as buffers in nearly every phase of social and business life and are today regarded as essential to the conduct of an enterprise.

But when John R. Bland was getting started (at the age of 45, incidentally, an age when, according to some of our most powerful modern thinkers a man should begin to plan what he is going to do with his Social Security pay), the very idea of corporate suretyship was regarded with suspicion. Ex-Governor Frank Brown, having been elected President of this unheard-of and incredible institution (Mr. Bland was First, Vice-President and General Manager at \$3,000. per annum), decided in the spring of 1897, after having been President less than a year, that he was "unwilling to continue as President of any corporation unless I would be familiar with its business." This seemed a reasonable enough notion.

So he resigned in a fog of unfamiliarity and Mr. Bland took the helm of his own ship.

How he stayed at the helm for 26 years, making corporate suretyship one of the most familiar and dependable things in the American scene, building his business in the face of the bitterest kind of competition—competition which “stopped little short of actual blood-letting”—this is the fascinating story told in this historical study of a Baltimorean who was one of the giants of American business, and of the institution he created. He was helped, to be sure, by other Baltimoreans who, while they doubtless knew little more about this strange business than Governor Frank Brown, had such complete confidence in John R. Bland that they went along. Their names and glimpses of their personalities help to light up the pages of Messrs. Fitzpatrick's and Buse's book—J. Frank Supplee, Ferdinand C. Latrobe, Samuel H. Shriver, J. Kemp Bartlett, A. G. Hutzler, Alexander P. Knapp, Isidor Rayner, Townsend Scott, James E. Hooper, Frank S. Hambleton, William H. Matthai, William T. Dixon, to name just a few of the incorporators and original directors; so that it becomes clear how solidly today's U. S. F. and G., with assets well in excess of a hundred million dollars, is grounded in the life and traditions of the city which it helped to make famous throughout the world. In the history of corporate suretyship the Company goes back almost to antiquity, and yet it is only fifty years old, vigorous, strong, confident, on the threshold of new triumphs and greater successes, and with new frontiers to conquer—just like the country.

RAYMOND S. TOMPKINS.

American Scriptures. By CARL VAN DOREN and CARL CARMER. New York: Boni and Gaer, 1946. 302 pp. \$3.75.

American Scriptures by Carl Van Doren and Carl Carmer is in fact the libretto of a series of radio programs given during 1943 and 1944 during the intermissions in the well known Sunday concerts of the Philharmonic Symphony Society of New York. Each program is built around a central historical episode—the Declaration of Independence, Flag Day, George Rogers Clark, and the like—and contains dramatic or prose poetry and quotations from historical documents. There are also 48 plates illustrating the text, and much care has been exercised in obtaining unusual pictures, although in many cases this has militated against clarity of reproduction.

The result bears little or no resemblance to history. The editors have chosen to present vignettes of history which illustrate some phase of what is called “the American character” and the material is selected to illustrate the point, not to prove it. Hence, just as in a book of poetry, the reader must accept what is written or reject it—there is no possibility of learning through the free exercise of reasoning from the facts at hand. There is a very obvious similarity between this work and Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, or Benet's *John Brown's Body*, but it lacks the inspired unity both of

those achieve and does little more to explain American character, if at all. Readers who desire to study American history from the sources should turn to one of the several anthologies now in print; those who wish to read patriotic poetry of a fairly high order may find this to their liking.

W. H. H.

Land Office and Prerogative Court Records of Colonial Maryland. By ELISABETH HARTSOOK [and] GUST SKORDAS. Publications of Hall of Records Commission, No. 4. [Annapolis: Hall of Records, 1946.] 125 pp. \$2.00.

As Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist of Maryland, states in a Foreword, all the records described in this book have long been known to students and genealogists. One does not therefore expect new light from this volume, but rather clear exposition of the two voluminous and important groups of material, Land Records and Probate Records of the colonial period, and a complete listing of the libers with an indication of their contents. Those who consult the Book will not be disappointed. Except for brief lists in the reports prior to 1923 of the Commissioner of the Land Office there has been no printed guide to these materials.

Dr. Hartsook has provided a commentary of 30 pages, which embrace the history of land administration, of the charter of the colony, and of leases, warrants, patents and rent rolls. This is followed by the list of 280 libers, not counting separate indexes. Mr. Skordas describes succinctly the Prerogative Court, which during colonial days performed the functions of a Probate Court. With this sketch are included outlines of the duties of the Commissary General, Chief Clerk and Register and the Deputy Commissary. The various classifications of records pertaining to testamentary matters, extending to 356 volumes and more than 100 boxes of loose papers, as well as index volumes, are each briefly described.

JAMES W. FOSTER

Early Rehoboth. Documented Historical Studies of Families and Events in This Plymouth Colony Township. Volume II. By RICHARD LEBARON BOWEN. Rehoboth, Mass.: privately printed, 1946. x, 177 pp. \$5.00.

This second volume continues the interesting presentation of local history which Mr. Bowen is using to amplify his projected documentary history of the Rehoboth community. Based on transcripts from original records, "these volumes represent a new type of personalized history." Each volume contains chapters devoted to particular subjects, taking the

contemporary documents and connecting them in a manner so clear and in a style so readable that the result is a series of stories revealing much about the life of the people of Rehoboth. In this volume there are studies of the Indian place-name Seekonk and of the Biblical name Rehoboth, together with the original King Philip's War lists, and a stirring account of the counterfeiting activities of Mary (Peck) Butterworth. As with the first volume, this work is important for historians and genealogists of New England.

WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.

One Hundred and Fifty Years of Banking in Baltimore, 1795-1945.
Baltimore: The Horn-Shafer Company, 1946. 42 pp.

This slender volume of less than fifty pages, printed for private distribution by the Union Trust Company of Maryland, gives a brief early history of the founder "Bank of Baltimore," which later, as the National Bank of Baltimore, was merged with the Union Trust in 1930. The Bank of Baltimore, chartered in 1795, was the seventh American bank to begin business in the United States. The Union Trust Company, which was incorporated in 1898 as the Realty Trust Company of Maryland now represents the consolidation of fourteen financial institutions, a number of them having long histories of their own.

The book is most attractively printed and bound and the numerous illustrations of both new and old Baltimore scenes are admirably chosen. The lists of various former presidents and directors, as well as executives, together with dates of mergers, and various financial statistics will be helpful to future historians when the general banking history of Baltimore is written. Obviously no 150-year history of an important business institution can even be outlined in a few pages, and the present book merely selects certain highlights with the object of commemorating, in unusually pleasing form, a major milestone.

H. F. F.

Centenary, Convent of the Visitation, Frederick, Maryland, 1846-1946.
[Frederick:] privately printed, 1946. [101] pp.

The appearance of this attractive little book marks the observance of one more centenary of a Maryland institution. The story of the Visitation order, its founding in France, its spread to Georgetown, D. C., in 1798 and to Frederick in 1846, is well told. Interwoven in the account are pleasant threads of Frederick history and biography.

J. W. F.

NOTES AND QUERIES

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1946

The year 1946 will go down in the Society's history as a most successful one. Not only has our membership increased but donations and other acquisitions have been exceptionally fine. The Society has demonstrated its usefulness to the people of Maryland and to many beyond its borders.

The number of members added for the year was 409, of whom 8 were life members. However, during the year we lost 58 members by death and 147 from resignations and other causes. The net gain for the year was, therefore, 204. As of December 31st last our rolls carried 2,614 names. Though not a part of this report, it may be noted that 78 new members have been enrolled since January 1st, bringing our membership as of today to 2692.

During the year the Society held ten general meetings which were addressed by distinguished and interesting speakers. The attendance was generally excellent, varying from 100 to 350 persons. In addition, there was a joint meeting of the Eastern Shore Society of Baltimore City and the members of our Society on November 1st. There were also 5 meetings of other large organizations in our building, besides 8 meetings of boards of other societies, including the Woman's Eastern Shore Society, the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities, and the Society of the Cincinnati.

Thirty-six groups have made tours of our building, preceded by short addresses by the Director or other members of the staff. These groups totalled about 750 persons. In addition, members of the staff have been guest speakers elsewhere before clubs and schools on 12 occasions. The total number of persons who were directly addressed under the Society's auspices during 1946 was not far short of 6,000.

The detailed report of acquisitions for the year has been printed regularly in our news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*. It will not be necessary to repeat the record here. Needless to say, investigation and evaluation of many fine new accessions will require months of study. In response to our appeal for small donations to balance the budget in a year of skyrocketing prices, our members and friends generously contributed a total of \$1,241. The happy results of this important aid will be related further on in this report. We also acknowledge with thanks various cash donations of considerable size for special purposes, including the purchase of

rare manuscripts, the restoration of portraits and the repair of precious documents.

Many exhibitions have been arranged for your enjoyment and instruction and for the benefit of the public. The permanent exhibitions have been maintained in good condition and some advantageous rearrangement and freshening have been effected. Temporary exhibitions have been recorded in our bulletin and in the public press. With the appearance in the December issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* of Miss Rutledge's "Handlist of Portraits in Varied Media" the publication of lists of all our portrait materials was completed. The Society possesses 225 large oil portraits, 210 drawings, watercolors, pieces of sculpture and 150 miniatures. Descriptions of these three groups, a total of 585 likenesses, are now available in print at small cost to any interested person. In due time the Society hopes to prepare similar classified lists of other holdings.

Temporary loans of significant materials owned by the Society were made during the year to the Baltimore Museum of Art, the Pratt Library, the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts and the New York Historical Society.

Some progress has been made in indexing and otherwise making accessible materials in our library. Under the grant made two years ago by the State, thousands of important manuscripts have been indexed by subjects as well as by proper names and thousands of cards have been added to the Dielman Biographical Index, chiefly through the able contributions of the originator of the file, Mr. Dielman, who continues the work in spite of his "retirement." Much progress has been made in mounting miscellaneous clippings and filing them for quick reference, and in analyzing and recording our large holdings of account books and record books.

The Society receives an ever-increasing flood of requests for information by mail, by telephone, and by personal visits. These deal with genealogy, the history of Maryland and of the nation. Many relate to specific items in our collections or expected to be found here. Our staff is asked to date all sorts of antique items, to identify pictures or artists, to furnish models for copying, to decipher old script and to read and advise on publication of manuscripts. We thus carry on almost a general information service. Ruling out the freak inquiries and the requests obviously outside our normal field, the Society strives to meet this legitimate demand,—one that is entirely beyond its ability to cope with. An age that is research-minded to a far greater degree than any previous one taxes our present powers. The addition of at least one person to the library staff will soon be a necessity.

The regular quarterly issues of the *Magazine* and of *Maryland History Notes* have appeared on time. The use of a colored cover for the *Magazine*, with an interesting picture, has attracted favorable comment. The contents, we trust, have proved interesting to members. The Society prints and distributes over 3,000 copies of each issue. The bulletin appears in an edition of 3,500 copies, some of which are given to visitors. We leave it to our members to say whether these publications are satisfactory

and to make comparison with those sponsored by any other historical society.

The War Records Division of the Society, under the direction of Mr. Harold R. Manakee, who in August last succeeded Dr. Nelson B. Lasson, is making marked progress in the gathering of record material relating to the war. From both the home front and the military front large groups of material were received, indexed and filed for future use. A substantial start has been made in collecting individual service records. An excellent beginning in collecting historical material relating to Maryland industry in the war has been made, and the staff of 8 persons is pushing this phase of the work. The results, as will be imagined, will document all phases of life in Maryland during the war. Comparison of our own program and achievement with those of some other states affords evidence that the organization and coverage in this state are on a superior plane.

Reference has been made to the voluntary contributions of members. It is gratifying to report that the Society through these gifts was enabled to meet its budget with a small balance remaining. What this means is that the Society had to forego various desirable activities and projects. We cut our garment according to the pattern that was given us, but in noting this accomplishment, let us not forget that we have had to curtail or trim to the detriment of good service and of operating efficiency. As the Director often reminds me, the Society in the functioning of its library and gallery is far behind standard practice. To him and our other assistants this is a very present headache. To spend hours in search of something needed by a scholar or business firm because we lack the indexes or other tools to locate the answer, and a staff adequate to prepare such tools, is wasteful of both time and money. It taxes the patience of the patron and of the staff. Any member who can suggest ways and means to remedy this unfortunate condition will be gratefully heard from. In spite of the fact that our staff is too small, we have made some progress in improving the situation but not nearly enough.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE,
President

PRISCILLA OF THE DORSEYS: A CENTURY-OLD MYSTERY

By FRANCIS B. CULVER

Family traditions are often untrustworthy, as the experienced genealogist knows. The writer recalls a glaring example of the truth of this statement in the case of a young man who desired to join an hereditary patriotic society in the right of a Revolutionary War ancestor. According to his family tradition, that ancestor was said to have been a "General in the Army, who served seven years and was wounded five times." Investigation revealed the actual facts of the case were as follows: The ancestor was drafted, at the age of sixteen years, in the county militia; later, he served

as a wagonmaster for less than a year when he caught the smallpox, was invalided to his home and never returned to the service. His name does not appear on the extant military rolls, but it is recorded in the files of the Pension Office at Washington, where the facts are given in detail. How this utterly false family-tradition started, no one appears to know. It may have been merely a hoax on the part of someone unknown.

Another instance of false tradition bears upon a problem of a genealogical sort. Among the files of an old newspaper known as the *Commonwealth*, published at Frankfort, Franklin County, Ky., in the issue dated 3 Sept. 1839, an obituary notice appears, which reads as follows:¹

"Another patriot of the American Revolution gone. Colonel Robert Wilmot departed this life at his residence in Bourbon county, Ky., on the 20th of August last, at the advanced age of 82 years.

"When but 18 years of age he was commissioned by the Legislature of Maryland (his native State) a Lieutenant of Artillery, in which capacity he immediately joined the Revolutionary army and continued in active service until the close of the war; during which time his patriotism and valor were signally displayed in the battles of Monmouth, Ver Planck's Point, Gates' Defeat and Stony Point. When 24 years of age he was united in marriage to *Miss Priscilla Dorsey, daughter of the Hon. Caleb Dorsey of Maryland*;² and in the year 1786 came with his family to Kentucky and settled on a large and fertile tract of land in Bourbon county, which he occupied until his decease, and upon which he reared a family of four sons and five daughters," etc., etc.

This obituary was signed with the initials R. W. S. [Robert Wilmot Scott, a grandson and namesake of the deceased].

The Wilmots were a well known and highly respected family of Baltimore County, connected by intermarriage with the Cromwells, Merrymans, Talbots, Towsons, Owings, Gittings, Bowens, and other prominent old families of that county.³

"Colonel" Robert Wilmot was born in Baltimore County, Md., on 25 Dec. 1757. He married, by license dated 8 Oct. 1781, one Priscilla Dorsey, whose father most certainly was *not* "the Hon. Caleb Dorsey" as stated in the obituary notice cited above. For, anyone who knows the history of "Hampton," that fine old estate near Baltimore, is cognizant of the fact that Priscilla Dorsey, youngest of the ten children of the Hon. Caleb Dorsey, Jr., "of Belmont" (by his wife Priscilla Hill), married on 17 Oct. 1782, at Old St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, Charles Ridgely Carnan,⁴ son of John and Achsah (Ridgely) Carnan, and grandson of

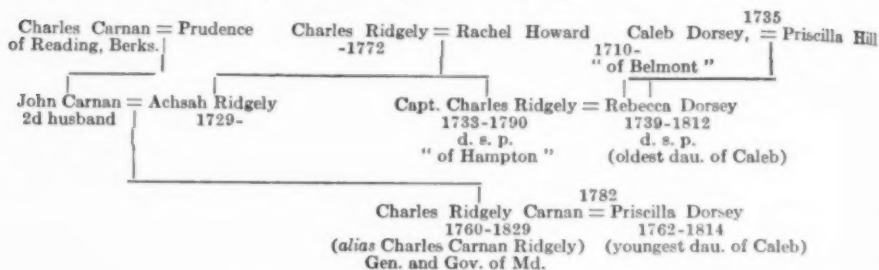
¹ See *Register of the Ky. State Historical Society*, Vol. 27 (Jan. 1929) p. 446.

² The italics are the writer's.

³ See *Md. Hist. Magazine*, V, 333.

⁴ Conformable to a provision in the will of his childless uncle, Captain Charles Ridgely, dated 7 Apl. 1786, young Carnan adopted the name "Charles Carnan Ridgely" and was also styled "of Hampton."

Charles and Prudence Carnan, of Reading, in Berkshire, England. The chart which follows may serve to explain the lineage:



Now, Priscilla Dorsey, the "war bride" of Lieut. Robert Wilmot of Baltimore County, was married 9 October, 1781; or just one year before the marriage of Priscilla Dorsey (daughter of Caleb), to Charles Ridgely Carnan (afterward known as Charles Carnan Ridgely). It is impossible that these two Priscillas were one and the same person, due to the fact that Priscilla Wilmot signed as a witness to the will of Capt. Charles Ridgely (d. 1790), dated 7 Apl. 1786 (Balto. Will Book No. 4, folios 450 *et seq.*) and, further, that the Captain's widow, Mrs. Rebecca Ridgely (née Dorsey), in her will dated 22 Apl. 1811 and proved 3 Oct. 1812, bequeathed to her namesake "Rebecca Wilmot, daughter of Robert and Priscilla Wilmot [of Kentucky] the sum of two hundred pounds current money of Maryland" (Baltimore Will Book No. 9, folio 265). The Wilmot home in Bourbon County, Ky., was situated near the railroad which runs between Paris and Lexington, about ten miles northeast of the latter place.

According to Maryland and Kentucky sources, Robert and Priscilla (Dorsey) Wilmot had issue as follows:

1. William, b. 2 Apl. 1783; d. 1834, unmarried.
2. Rebecca, b. 3 June 1785; married Joel B. Scott of Franklin Co., Ky., and had issue.
3. Charles, b. 25 Nov. 1786; died in infancy.
4. Charles, b. 27 Apl. 1788. No record.
5. Robert, b. 5 Jan. 1791; married Miss Mansfield and had issue.
6. Polly, b. 3 Nov. 1792; married Philemon Price and removed to Illinois.
7. Sarah, b. 13 Aug. 1794; married (1)—Flint, (2)—Chenowith, (3)—Samuel Hitt.
8. Priscilla, b. 20 Mch. 1798; married Richard Keene of Scott Co., Ky., and had issue.
9. Nancy, b. 17 Aug. 1799; married Daniel Stephens and removed to Indiana.
10. John, b. 26 May 1802; died young.
11. John Fletcher, b. 13 Jan. 1806; married Harriet —.

There were several "Priscillas" in the Dorsey family of Maryland, which has been a prolific one, especially in the counties of Anne Arundel, Baltimore and Howard. The Dorsey's spread themselves through town, hamlet and countryside, and it has been said that even "the woods were full of them." Can anyone solve the problem of the parentage of Mrs. Priscilla (Dorsey) Wilmot?

MARYLAND HOUSE AND GARDEN PILGRIMAGE

May 3—May 13, 1947

The Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland have announced that the 10th annual pilgrimage to Maryland homes and gardens will begin on May 3 with visits to St. Mary's and Harford Counties. Some of the houses to be open in St. Mary's County are: "Sotterley," Cross Manor," "West St. Mary's," "Mulberry Fields," and "Cremona." In Harford County visitors may see "Mt. Pleasant," "Oakington," "Medical Hall," "Joshua's Meadow" and "Mt. Ararat."

Other counties are to be visited in the following order: Charles on May 4, Talbot on May 5, Queen Anne's on May 6, Baltimore suburbs on May 6; Kent on May 7, Howard on May 7, Montgomery on May 7, Cecil on May 8, Green Spring and Worthington Valleys on May 8, Long Green, Dulany and Limekiln Valleys on May 9, Baltimore environs on May 10, Prince George's on May 11, Lower Anne Arundel on May 12, Annapolis and Upper Anne Arundel on May 13. Proceeds of the tour will go to maintain the Hammond-Harwood House, Annapolis. The large number of places to be visited is due to the foresight and planning of the Pilgrimage Committee of the Federated Garden Clubs headed by Mrs. Charles E. Rieman, Mrs. Gideon N. Stieff, Mrs. H. Rowland Clapp, Mrs. Martin Gillet, Mrs. Blanchard Randall, Jr. and Mrs. Harry R. Slack, Jr.

St. Paul's P. E. Cemetery, Baltimore—Effort is being made to place the preservation of the old graveyard belonging to St. Paul's, bounded by Redwood and Lombard Streets and Fremont Avenue, on an assured footing. A committee of the Vestry under the chairmanship of the Register, Mr. W. Graham Bowdoin, Jr., has appealed to interested persons to provide funds for its endowment. The cemetery became the last resting place of early Baltimoreans in 1818 when the graves were removed from the churchyard surrounding the early St. Paul's in the block now fronting on Charles St. from Lexington to Saratoga Sts. Among those interred there are such noted figures as Samuel Chase, signer of the Declaration of Independence; Colonel John Eager Howard, Colonel Tench Tilghman, Colonel George Armistead, and Daniel Dulany. Conversations with muni-

cipal officials, looking toward the fulfillment of the plans of the Committee, have been held. The interest of the City is based on the advantage of this breathing space in a congested area and the need of assuring its future preservation. Interested persons are asked to communicate with Mr. Bowdoin.

Archives Course—The third summer training course in the preservation and administration of archives for custodians of public, institutional, and business archives will be offered by the American University in Washington, D. C., with the cooperation of the National Archives and the Maryland Hall of Records from July 28 through August 23, 1947. Ernst Posner, Professor of History and Archives Administration, The American University; Oliver W. Holmes, Program Advisor to the Archivist of the United States; Morris L. Radoff, Archivist, Maryland Hall of Records; and other members of the staffs of the National Archives and the Maryland Hall of Records will serve as instructors. Detailed information may be obtained by writing to Dr. Posner, School of Social Sciences, American University, 1901 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Historical Essay Contest—To stimulate interest in the American Colonial period, its family and community life and its great events and figures, the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York offers a cash prize of \$250. for the best essay on a subject connected with that period. The Contest will be open to any citizen of the United States who has in his possession or who has access to original family documents or records, not hitherto published, that relate to a phase of the American colonial period between the founding of Jamestown, Virginia, 1607, and the Battle of Lexington, 1775. The contest will close October 31, 1947. Further information may be obtained from the Librarian's Office, Maryland Historical Society.

Holly Hill—Two of the photographs of "Holly Hill" which were used in this Magazine for December last were taken by Mr. Cortland V. D. Hubbard of Philadelphia and should have been credited to him. They are to appear in a book now in course of joint preparation by Mr. Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Mr. Hubbard, on the subject of historic houses of Maryland. The photographs were of the exterior, printed on the cover, and the view of the entrance hall opposite page 328. The Magazine regrets that the source of these pictures was not known in time to include this information in the last issue.—EDITOR

Ricord—Wish to obtain biographical information about one Ricord, father of Jean Baptiste, Philippe, and Alexandre Ricord. He was a French émigré who fled France during the Revolution, went first to Italy, then to French West Indies, and finally, about 1794, to Baltimore. Jean Baptiste Ricord was born in France, but Alexandre was born in Baltimore in 1798 and Philippe in 1800.

ANDREW FOREST MUIR

Iolani School, Honolulu 3, Hawaii.

Allison (Allanson)—Should like to know if Thos. Allison (1696-1733) of Charles County, Md. had issue. His wife was Barbara Burch, daughter of Olive and Barbara Burch; Allison was the son of Charles (d. 1698) and Susannah Posey, daughter of John and Susannah Posey, and grandson of Thos. Allanson (b. 1638) and Mary Roberts of Christian Temple Manor. Allisons of Prince George's County, who might be sons of the above mentioned Thos. Allison were: Thos. Allison (d. 1774), wife Sarah, sexton of Rock Creek Church in 1751; Charles Allison (1723-after 1795), wife Barbara Moore, daughter of James and Barbara Moore; Richard (d. 1808) wife, Sarah, whose son was John Burch; Benjamin, wife Mary, whose sons were Posey (1752-1834) and Burch (1763-1834).

T. B. GOTHAM

1692 Sunset Ave., Akron (1) Ohio

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